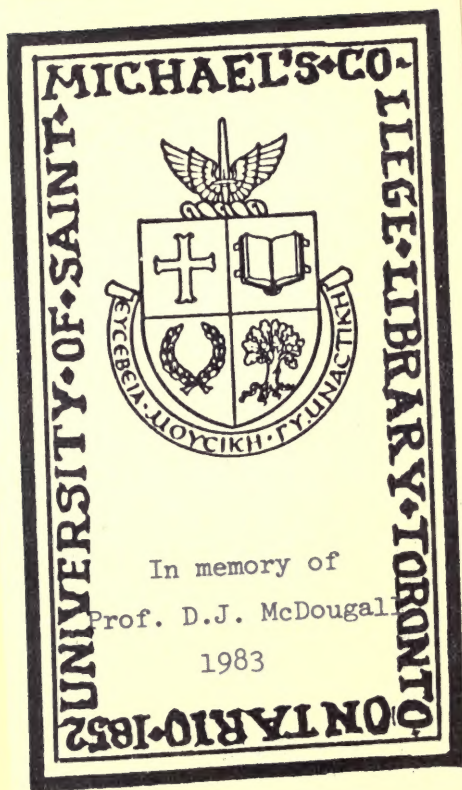
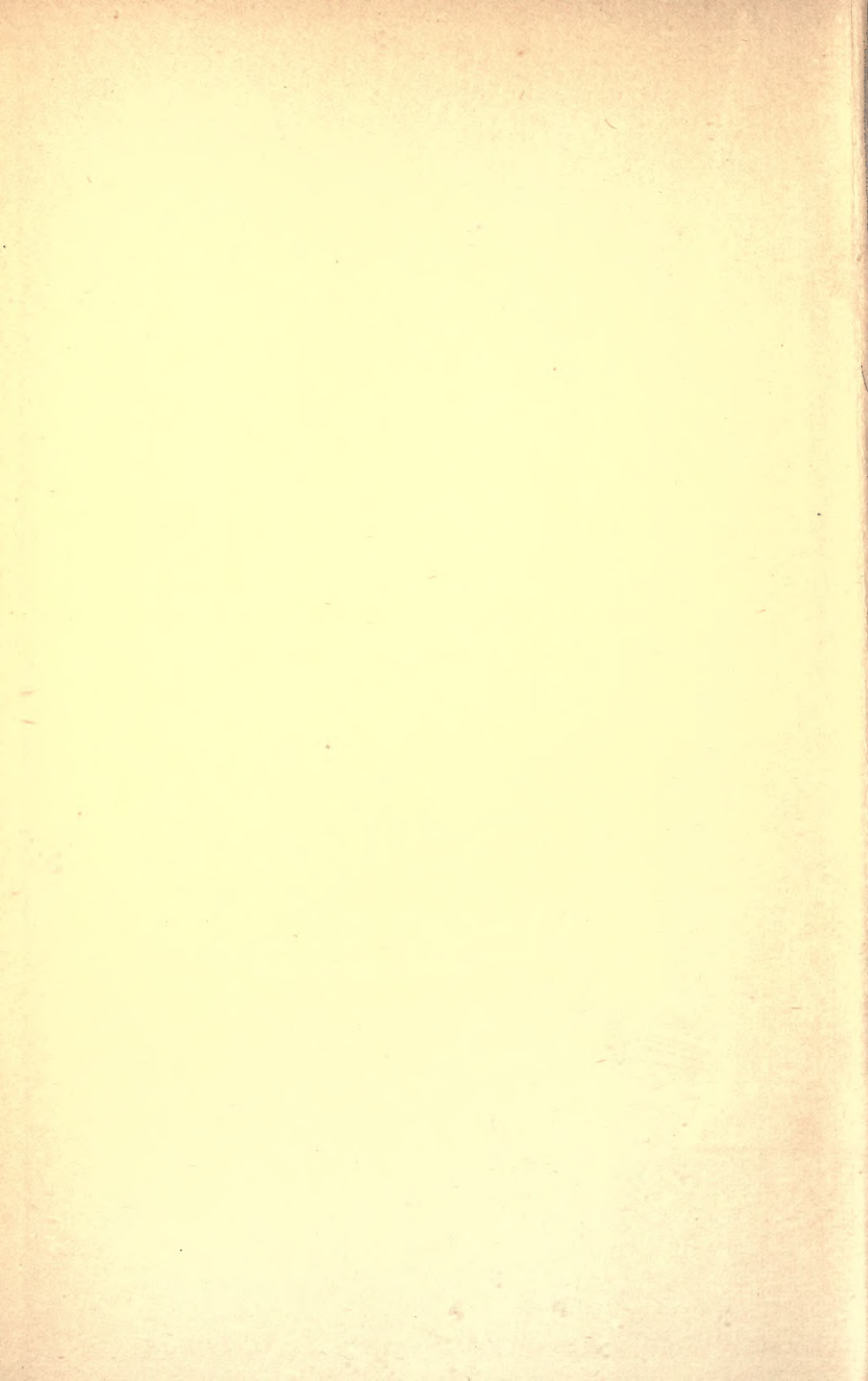


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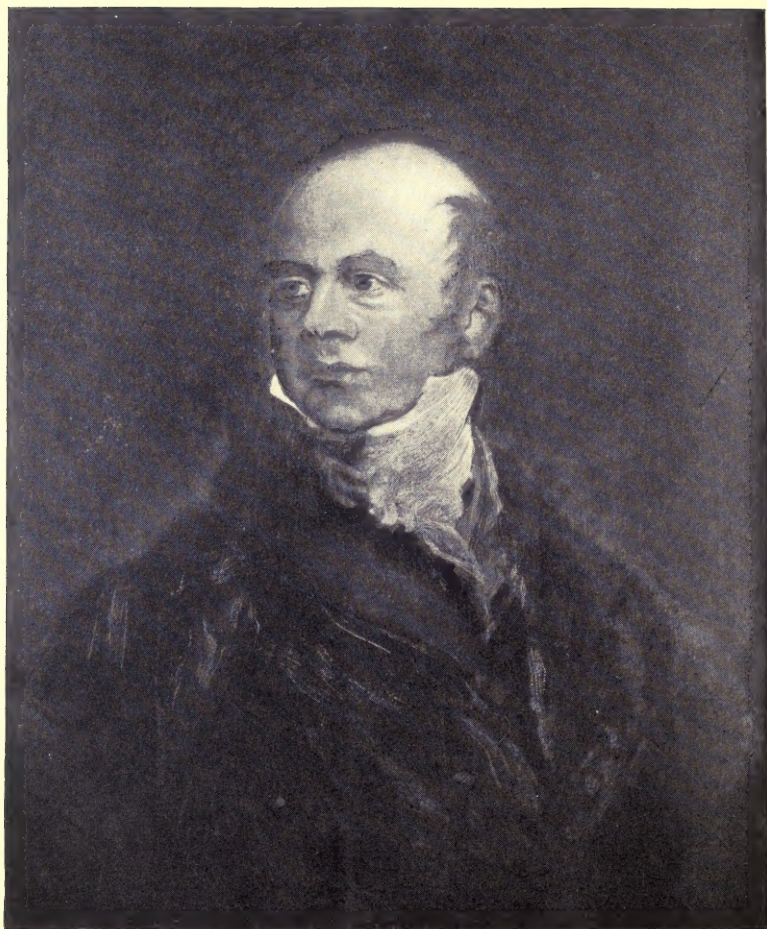
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EARLY CORRESPONDENCE
OF LORD JOHN RUSSELL





JOHN RUSSELL, SIXTH DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(Painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence. Photographed by Keith Dannatt, Haslemere.)

Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell 1805-40

EDITED BY HIS SON

ROLLO RUSSELL

VOL. II



T. FISHER UNWIN
LONDON: ADELPHI TERRACE
LEIPSIC: INSELSTRASSE 20

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JOHN RUSSELL, SIXTH DUKE OF BEDFORD *Frontispiece*

(Painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence. Photographed by Keith
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JOHN CHARLES, VISCOUNT ALTHORP . . 29

(Painted by T. Phillips, R.A. ; engraved by C. Turner, A.R.A. ;
published June 14, 1831, by Mr. Turner, 50, Warren Street
Fitzroy Square)

Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell

CHAPTER III—(*continued*)

(140) *Holland to Russell.*

1831 [?].

DEAR JOHN,—I go to the Council of Monday at Brighton, and I have been at the Cabinet so late to-day that I must write a letter as short, though not, I fear, as pithy as one from you.

Dispatches and private letters from Granville give a very favourable, and, I believe, just report of the views and sincerity of K. Philip and Sebastiani. They have had their effects and done good—but every little that tends to allay too great quickness and susceptibility of suspicion, helps.

Pray tell Adair I have received his letter—fully understand it—and have no doubt that Grey and Palmerston in possession of his views will be forward in satisfying them, but I have no time to write.

Yours,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

P.S. Ireland goes on better—and if the great measures of reform and reduction we have settled to-day do not alarm the K. (the most reasonable of sovereigns), all will go well.

(141) *Holland to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

Tuesday, 1831 [?].

DEAR JOHN,—Durham was at Cabinet looking ill, but pleased and useful. All most harmonious, and Grey *goes* to Brighton on Sunday. All that affair seems prosperous, and I hope you will have the glory Canning wished you, *e poi e poi*—other things not fit for the paper nor even for your ear till it happens and your ear is fit for all things.

Ireland looks better. O'Connell shews a white feather.

The French have started in conversation notions about territory and recovery of humiliation of 1815 which are somewhat inconvenient and above all, unreasonable and too late. They had not, however, seen the Protocol (I mean that you begot in a corner), and when they do they must give up such projects. I am on these three great subjects in heart and spirit.

Pray do your best to soothe Adair and make him acquiesce in something.

Yours faithfully,

HOLLAND.

P.S. Remember me to the Duke and give my

love to the Duchess. I have never recovered not seeing her when here.

(142) *Holland to Russell.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

January 27, 1831.

DEAR JOHN,—The King approves of reform having been considered, acknowledges the necessity of making it effectual, but cannot disguise his anxiety about the plan which Grey is to open to him on Sunday. I will write from thence Monday a line to say whether things go swimmingly or not, but you must not expect details on paper.

I wish I were quite as confident as you are of the chance of war diminishing. There exists too much suspicion, too much disposition to take umbrage, too obvious a persuasion that if war occurs France must be our enemy, and too much unwillingness to separate ourselves if necessary from the three other powers, for me to feel entirely easy as to the result. I wish you would take some opportunity *while away* of writing to Lord Grey, and introduce a sentence or two of your opinion of the necessity of peace, the consequences and impracticability of a war with France, which, as it must become anti-revolutionary, would be unpopular here and, unsupported by our real and only friends, would consequently dissolve the Ministry; in case of

success, would be infamy; in case of failure, ruin—separation in Ireland and revolution here.

There is even a malicious sort of pleasure in the prospect of Leuchtenberg's election to the Crown of Belgium, because it will offend and disappoint the French Government! as if it would not be a triumph for the warlike party in France, and lead to changes in Ministry or dynasty that would indulge them in war. It is better to be out-reached by a man whose main interests coincide with your own, than to foil him in some little artifice or design and thereby expose both his and your interests to entire discomfiture. In this instance, however, I do not even see the artifice. If I did I would shut my eyes and acquiesce.

Your word would, I know, have weight, and I am sure you agree with me in thinking that whatever might be the occasion of quarrel, once at war against France—the Ultras and Despots are our allies—the liberal party throughout the world at home and abroad our enemies, and the war anti-revolutionary—nothing but direct aggression or positive insult from France should justify us in breaking with her. Pray say what you think on this matter, not to me but to others. You begot the neutrality of Belgium, beget the peace of the World.

Reform or Adair would give you a plea for writing to Grey, I should like him to have a notion of your view of foreign affairs, while or before he is at Brighton. You were a little

Prophet about P. at Brussels. The Belgians will, I fear, chuse Leuchtenberg, with the view no doubt, I hope, not with the effect, of overturning King Philip or forcing him into war.

Yours,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

(143) *Holland to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

BRIGHTON, *January 31, 1831.*

DEAR JOHN,—You will naturally be anxious about a child [Parliamentary Reform], in the begetting of which you took so active a part. It flourishes, and is Royally and nobly adopted—reasonably and *almost affectionately* adopted—all that matter and indeed all that depends on our host goes on admirably—I wish I were as well satisfied with the aspect and yet more the tone of news from abroad—particularly Brussels. You were a Prophet and I am sure I wish even from higher motives than private friendship that Bob Adair had been sent thither. The King is better in health than when I saw him last—and in good spirits.

Yours most truly,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

P.S.—Grey would write but knows I have written. The King is manifestly in *better* spirits since the plan has been opened to him—and this is not *our* observation only but Sir Herbert

Taylor's—never was a more successful expedition than Grey's and Althorp's.

(144) *General Fox to Russell.*

BRIGHTON, *Monday, February 7,*

[Postmark, 1831.]

MY DEAR JOHN,—Many thanks for your entertaining letter ; I am not very much surprised at the Abuses you have found at Chelsea, and I hope you will be able to eradicate them or at least diminish them. I should like to read your letter to the King at once but will await your Permission.

It is very flattering to you I think having to bring on the great Question and just what the Government ought to have done by you, though I suppose it will be hard work. To have been the carryer through of the Repeal of Test Act and the Reform in Parliament, which last God grant may get safely through, are events for Posterity to hear of and remember the mover of.

Brighton has been very pleasant and is now growing thin. The King is well and in good spirits notwithstanding the week's company of the Duke of Cumberland.

Yours ever affectionately,

Dear John,

C. R. Fox.

(145) *Holland to Russell.*

1831.

DEAR JOHN,—What you ought to do is this—stand for Buckinghamshire and write to the

people of Devonshire who have invited you to recommend George Bampffield. This is infinitely the best way—for you, and for the publick, for the *loss* of a friend in Bucks would be almost fatal.

Yours ever,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

(146) *John Wood to Russell.*

PRESTON, *Monday Night, April 23, 1831.*

MY LORD,—On arriving in Manchester last night, I found the friends of Reform actively engaged in making arrangements for returning you as the representative of this great County. In Bolton, Blackburn and Preston where I have been to-day, the feeling in your favour appears universal. . . .

(147) *William Russell to Russell.*

PARIS, *April 22, 1831.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I hope to be in England on the 1st May, and shall probably go by Havre to Portsmouth, but you may as well keep a bed ready for me in case I change my mind. We had yesterday a report that you were beat by eight, and the funds fell upon it, but to-day they say it is not true. I look to success or a dissolution as a *sine qua non*—if you don't dissolve you'll be disgraced for ever and ever,—but you will, they say you won't, but they lie.

I am delighted to see you stick fast to the principle of the Bill ; cling to it as to your honour. Alas, alas ! I wish I could admire your foreign policy as much as I do your domestic policy, but I find here all the admiration and joy at having a Liberal Government to act with in England has subsided, they complain of your coldness, distrust, suspicion and want of sympathy, and in my opinion with reason. The Government here attributes much of their unpopularity to the deference they have shown to the opinion of England, and an anxious desire to act in concert with her to maintain the peace of Europe. You could not have gone upon a more pernicious and ungenerous plan than distrusting France ; the only chance of maintaining the peace of Europe is by England acting frankly, openly and sincerely with this Government. Believe me that if it is overthrown there will be the most dreadful war that ever desolated Europe, a war of passions against all government and order, and if England does not hold out her hand to France, this must be the case. Instead of this we have dirty intrigues in Belgium, unworthy suspicions, no concert with France, no sympathy for the gallant Poles, the Austrians tormenting, torturing and slaying as in the days of Castlereagh. The French say they see no difference between Wellington and Grey and care not how soon the first comes back to office. Pray, pray use your influence to make our Government adopt a more liberal

and noble system of action. England is sinking fast and low in the opinion of Europe.

Affectionately yours,

G. W. R.

(148) *Russell to Moore.*

(Date ?)

THE SPANISH ALCALDES.

Once on a day it came to pass,
A Spanish village lost its ass ;
(Michael Cervantes tells the story,
His be the credit and the glory).
A beast of great consideration,
Beloved by all the corporation.
Sometimes the village curate rode him ;
Sometimes the magistrates bestrode him ;
Sometimes he carried loaves and fishes,
And brought them home to each man's wishes.
Garters and ribbands red and blue,
From out his well-stored paniers flew :
With patience bore a heavy pack,
And ever went the beaten track.
The ass was lost ; each man of weight
Deplored the loss to Church and State,
And in an hour of urgent need
They got a quiet sober steed,
But when he failed, they bought a horse,
As luck would have it, from the course ;
A steed so fiery, fuming, prancing,
Snorting, starting, bounding, dancing ;
Requiring so much corn for keeping,

And all the ancient fences leaping ;
That every sober man was frighten'd
And all declared the horse enlighten'd ;
They said he'd ope the stable wide,
For papal bulls to come and bide ;
One day he threw the Mayor in liquor,
And almost overset the Vicar.
'Twas well he died ; and in the stable
Was placed a war-horse, old but able.
But there were two Alcaldes known
For always leaving ill alone,
Who shock'd with so much innovation,
Began a State deliberation.

(They resolve to try and find the old lost
ass. For this purpose they both go into the
woods.)

The one tried first a great device,
Their ancient servant to entice,
So when an honest space he'd strayed,
He oped his throat and loudly brayed ;
His colleague thought the ass was found,
And echoed back the fearful sound ;
Each was deceived, each sought the other,
And recognised his sapient brother.
A neighbouring village heard their story
And made this motto to their glory :
" Both Lords their part have nobly played,
And true to Nature each hath brayed."

J. R.

I send you some verse, and have no time for

prose, as I am going to dinner. It is well you did not go to the association—rare work for St. Stephens !

(149) *William Russell to Russell.*

LONDON, *Monday*, 1831.

MY DEAR JOHN,—Here I am once more *chez vous*, these Kings' houses make one quite corrupt, I feel much more disposed to turn Tory, than to go out of it. We finished our Bedford election most agreeably, all pleasant sailing before the wind, neither storms nor squalls ; you have raised a noble spirit in the country, far beyond anything I could have imagined. I know no sight so grand, as a People roused from their Apathy, determined to assert their rights and freedom. A few Months ago, all was gloomy, dark, sad and ominous, now all is cheerful, gay, happy and promising. It is like the burst of Spring after a severe winter. A few months ago we were all discontented, and none more discontented than myself, now we are all contented and none more contented than myself—and believe me, my dear John, none feel more warmly, or rejoice more sincerely in the successful part you have acted in these great events, for which you enjoy most deservedly that greatest of all rewards, your country's gratitude—everybody speaks highly in your praise, your abilities, your patience, your perseverance, your good temper, and give you all those good and great qualities which constitute a Statesman, and

an honest man. But you must not yet go to sleep; the storm is subsided, the Sea is lulled, but the ship is not yet in port—and many a vessel has been lost from over security. Believe me there is a most extraordinary spirit abroad, not only in England but all over the world, and I don't think your Colleagues are aware of it. The Art is to lead this spirit and not let it lead you, for the moment you have got it by the nose, but it is a fractious and turbulent spirit, feeling its own power, and impatient to use it; you must be watchful, watchful, bold and firm. I wish your foreign Policy were better directed. I can find no sympathy whatever in this Country for these gallant Poles. This is very bad. The Government will get into a scrape if it does not take care, it will not do to go upon the old Holy Alliance system—the people on the Continent will not stand it, and the People have a voice now-a-days.

Write me a line to say when you will be here, or where I can meet you.

Ever affectionately yours,

G. W. R.

(150) *Holland to Russell.*

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.

Tuesday, May 3, 1831.

DEAR JOHN,—Whatever were the causes, now too long and complicated to explain, which prevented a better arrangement of House of

Commons last November, they certainly did not proceed from any disposition to undervalue you or your powers or your influence there—nor did much time elapse before Grey reverted to what I suspect was part of his original design (disturbed by accidents, refusals and exchanges of others during your absence and the formation of the Ministry), viz., your introduction into the Cabinet. Hurry the Bill of Reform on as you can, I do not believe that you can get it through before means must and will be devised of offering you a seat in the Cabinet—at least I am sure the wish cannot be stronger, I scarcely think it is as strong in your own breast to be there as it is in that of most of us, and Grey's in particular, to have you there. The anxiety felt and acted upon, to consult you chiefly on the measure and to place it so distinctly in your hands is surely as strong an indication of confidence in your judgment and abilities and as plain a proof of the intentions of Government to seize the first opportunity they can find of having your assistance in the Cabinet, as it is possible for men to give—and I own I think you might give those who admire, love and honour you so much enough of confidence in return to suppose that their delay in accomplishing what was so much at their heart and so much to their interest too, arises from no unkind feeling nor even from any want of decision, but from a hope of atchieving it shortly in the way most agreeable to you and most serviceable to

the common cause of us all. I sincerely believe that it is so. I know that one among the many reasons which induced Grey to place the bill in your hands was the conviction that it designated you as half a Cabinet Minister *de facto*, and facilitated your becoming so *de jure* before or as soon as the question was passed.

Some further arrangements may since have become desirable and I believe they have. What I further conjecture (but that I must allow is mere conjecture) is that it will be more advantageous to the publick service and much more comfortable to all persons concerned to combine those arrangements with your introduction into the Cabinet, than to accomplish them piecemeal and separately. If anything could add to my individual wish to see this object accomplished and that speedily, it would be the state of our foreign relations which require all the assistance your judgement and sobriety combined with your zeal for the liberal cause, wherever pleaded could afford, but for that very reason I deprecate the mere resolves and predeterminations and above all the premature announcement of them. All goes well. Howick's triumph in Northumberland does one's heart good. The Tories' lies in *John Bull* got the poor Lord Mayor into a scrape with King and Ministry, but upon inquiry it turned out his offensive placard was a forgery of the enemy, and the poor man knew nothing of it. I have no more time.

Yours ever, and for the time in Pay Office.

VASSALL HOLLAND.

(151) *William Russell to Russell.*

BRUSSELS, AUGUST 26, 1831.

MY DEAR JOHN,— . . . I fear Lord Chandos has much damaged your Bill, however it will make it more palatable to the Lords, and if you can stave off the attacks of the Radicals all will still go well. What I am most anxious about is the state of things here, there are elements in this small focus to blow up all Europe, and its fate depends upon the wisdom and moderation of England and France, above all upon their perfect union. It is clear that mischievous persons are hallooing and cheering on your Cabinet to go to war with France—for God's sake don't be caught in the trap, pray don't *donner dans le panneau*. A war with France would be fatal to your ministry, fatal to your Bill, almost fatal to England. Besides you have no grounds for a quarrel, it appears to me that the conduct of France is moderate, if I was a Frenchman, I should say to a fault. Think what a tempting bait is held out to them, this Country and all its fortresses in their possession, a large party for them, an opportunity to wipe out the disgrace of the Treaty of Vienna, and yet they retreat into France at the desire of England. Two days ago I had a conversation with the Duke of Orleans. He spoke with great feeling of all the sacrifices his father had made and was about to make for England, but he said that whilst he did so much to support your

Cabinet, it was but fair that you should support his ministry. That if France fell into the hands of the party of the *Mouvement*, a war must take place, for the support of which the passions and hatred of the people against their Governments would be put into play, and that no throne in Europe was secure against the storm. This is too true. The peace of Europe, the stability of the Governments, the order of Society, the progress of civilization, the happiness of millions depend upon a Union between England and France, and it would be an act of wickedness and stupidity to disturb it for these trifles. Let the Tories brawl on, let the Holy Alliance intrigue, let them throw in your teeth stuff about the honor of England which has nothing to do with its *real* honor. Do you keep Peace with France—and if you cannot be consistent with the interests and honour of England, resign your places, and let the Tories carry on the war, for you are Peace Ministers, and the Country would never allow you to guide her in war, so don't plunge her into a stream too violent for your helm. These are my opinions, ponder on them, and you will I think come to the same conclusion. The great object now, is to settle matters here as quickly and as decidedly as possible, for as long as this question is open, a quarrel with France hangs over our head like the sword of Damocles.

Yours affectionately,

G. W. R.

(152) *William Russell to Russell.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—Pray frank this to Bessy. I saw Leopold¹ to-day with Adair, and he consents to the Fortress convention. This is a good job done, and you will meet Parliament with flying colours.

Affectionately yours,

G. W. R.

(153) *Russell to the King.*

WHITEHALL, October 18, 1831.

Lord John Russell presents his humble duty to Your Majesty, and is extremely concerned that any expression of his should have given Your Majesty offence. The letter referred to was written chiefly with a view of impressing on the excited population of Birmingham the belief that the reform for which they were so anxious was postponed and not defeated. And he has since received a letter from Birmingham from a dissenting Minister of that place, who does not belong to any political Union or Society, declaring that the letters written by Lord Althorp and himself contributed in a great degree to prevent acts of violence against persons and property.

At the same time, Lord John Russell does not wish to justify to your Majesty the expres-

¹ King of the Belgians.

sion in question. Although not intended to apply to the majority of the House of Lords, it was certainly a phrase, which had he not written in the first moments of disappointment at the rejection of a Measure, the object of so much labour, and such protracted discussions, he would not have used.

Lord John Russell is fully sensible that the present interval is one which all His Majesty's advisers must wish to be one of tranquillity and reflexion—a feeling in which he participates as strongly as any of them, and on such he relies for the future progress of a measure of wise and constitutional reform.

(154) *The King to Russell.*

ST. JAMES, October 19, 1831.

The King hastens to acknowledge the receipt of Lord John Russell's very proper and highly satisfactory letter of yesterday, and His Majesty assures him that, while he gives him great credit for the mild and gentlemanly feeling with which he has met the communication of His Majesty's Notice of the unguarded expression he used in his letter to Mr. Attwood, he rejoices to find in the sentiments conveyed to His Majesty so decided a concurrence in his wish that the present interval should be one of tranquillity and reflexion.

WILLIAM R.

(155) *Brougham to Russell.**September, 1831* [?].

MY DEAR LORD J.,—I am quite vexed at the lingering pace of our Bill. But if the anti-reformers *do* stop you—at all events be loud on the *grievance*—that puts the saddle on the right horse.

Instead of doing so—what are you all about? You praise the enemy for his *candour* and *fairness*! This is exactly playing his game and taking on yourselves the load of the blame.

Rely on it you are going down hill in the country in consequence and when once you are a little lower, the *Lords* will take courage and give you and the bill the *coup de grâce*.

Yours,

H. B.

(156) *Viscount Palmerston to Russell.**December 16, 1831.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—I think you ought to know that the day before yesterday Lord Clive and his Brother called upon me to say, that they had derived so much Pleasure from the modifications which had been made in the Bill; From the Knowledge that there had been private communications between Harrowby, Wharnccliffe and Chandos, and Lord Grey; and from the Temperate and Conciliatory Tone in which you had spoke the other night, that they had determined

not to vote against the Second Reading of the Bill, and were going out of Town yesterday morning accordingly.

They added, however, that the amendments made in the Bill were not enough to enable them to support it, but they were not without Hopes that it might still come out of the Committee in such a shape as to make it possible for them to vote for the Third Reading.

Yours sincerely,

PALMERSTON.

(157) *T. Campbell to Thomas Moore.*

12, WATERLOO PLACE, *January 4, 1832.*

MY DEAR MOORE,—If there had been some direct and severe allusion to me in the preface to which you allude, I should have felt myself divested of all right to complain on your simple explanation that it was written during the time that I had given you notorious cause of alienation. . . . If you have actually spared me in the preface I am still more indebted to your magnanimity, and my only regret is that you sh^d. have a moment's uneasiness on the subject. No, my dear Moore, I am too proud and pleased to call you friend to let anything cloud our friendship in future. Believe me,

Yours truly,

T. CAMPBELL.



JOHN CHARLES, VISCOUNT ALTHORP.

(Painted by T. Phillips, R.A. ; engraved by C. Turner, A.R.A. ; published June 14, 1831, by Mr. Turner, 50, Warren Street, Fitzroy Square.)

(158) *Althorp to Russell.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

DOWNING STREET, *January 7, 1832.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I did not summon you for to-day and I am glad I did not, but I must summon you for Wednesday. The King declines giving any answer until the proposition is made to him formally by a Minute of Cabinet, which Minute is to be agreed to on Wednesday when we can have a full meeting. But there is no doubt that when such a proposal is made he will agree to it; provided the new creations are confined first to eldest sons, secondly to Heirs Presumptive, and lastly to Scotch and Irish Peers, but he hopes the third class will not be required. He, however, wishes that if taken, the step should be decisive and that the whole number required should be made at once. Chandos has been trying to open a communication with the King on this subject, and sent a servant from Stowe with a letter to Taylor. This was probably intended to forestall Lord Grey, but it came while he was at Brighton, and Sir Herbert, in his answer to Chandos, told him that he concluded his object was to communicate with Lord Grey through him and that with this view he had sent the letter when he knew Lord Grey would be at Brighton, and therefore in pursuance of what he presumed was his intention, he had given the letter to Lord Grey to be communicated to

the King by him if he should so think fit, but that he (Taylor) should not show it to the King himself. This was meeting the thing capitally and really makes as good a joke of it as I ever heard.

I have no objection whatever to your consulting Hallam though I do not see under present circumstances why his being opposed to Reform gives him any merit as an adviser.

Yours most truly,

ALTHORP.

(159) *Althorp to Russell.*

DOWNING STREET, *March 27, 1832.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—We have decided on the minute unanimously. We state the alternatives of Resignation and Creation, but recommend as our decided advice an immediate Prorogation for a short time and the necessary creation of Peers in the case of the Bill being rejected on the second reading. I hear the result of last night has given great satisfaction in the City, but, on the other hand, the Tories are much pleased. I understand they give up all hopes of winning on the second reading, but they are very sanguine that they shall so cripple the bill in the Committee as to render us unpopular and to destroy us. We, however, can take care of ourselves as well as they.

Yours most truly,

ALTHORP.

(160) *Russell to Moore.*

WHITEHALL, March 31, 1832.

DEAR MOORE,—Cardinal de Retz said that if he had had the King on his side a single fortnight, things would have turned out otherwise. So I say, that if we have the King with us another fortnight, we shall be sure of our game. Already capitulation is spoken of, and many who voted against us on the second reading now speak only of altering some of the clauses.

It is to be sure a wonderful change, I can hardly believe it myself. But you know I am apt to be sanguine.

Yours truly,

J. R.

Remember me kindly to Mrs. Moore. Lord Lansdowne goes to Richmond to-morrow.

As an example of the kind of language used on the Conservative side the following quotation from a speech of Mr. Shaw, in a debate on May 25, 1832, in Russell's handwriting, sounds with a familiar reverberation.

The Bill would undermine British connexion, destroy the Established Church, and ruin the security of property. It was, in fact, a Bill rightly designated when termed superlatively, revolutionary. By proposing this Bill, and by the means they had used to procure its success, His Majesty's Ministers had diminished the star of England's glory. The Constitution might

linger for a short time ; in England for a brief period its name might continue, but in Ireland, with the passing of this Bill it must expire. . . .

When he thought of its passing he felt a sorrow no language could pourtray, for that Act would operate as a signal for delivering his country up to boundless anarchy, and fearful bloodshed and confusion.

[The Reform Bill received the Royal Assent on June 7th.]

(161)

(1832. After Russell's re-election for Devonshire.)

*To the Right Honourable Lord John Russell,
His Majesty's principal Secretary of State
for the Home Department, &c.*

MY LORD,—We the undersigned Electors and Inhabitants of the Town and Borough of Bedford are highly gratified in embracing the opportunity, that now presents itself to express our admiration of the patriotism, courage, moderation and ability which have distinguished the important Services that your Lordship has rendered to the Country in advocating the great and immutable principles of Civil and religious Liberty, during the late arduous National Struggle in the House of Commons.

The zeal you have displayed for the public good, the sound judgment you have exhibited in your endeavours to promote it, the incorruptible integrity manifested by your Lord-

ship in Parliament and recently evinced in the discussion of some of the most momentous Constitutional questions ever brought under its consideration—the liberal and enlightened principles avowed in your Lordship's Public Address to your late Constituents—inspire us with confidence that the present Government of which your Lordship forms a conspicuous part, will use its utmost endeavours to carry into effect, the important measures so ably promoted by your Lordship—the attainment of which we believe to be identified with the well-being of the Nation and the Stability of its Institutions.

We do therefore feel highly honored in having this opportunity of testifying the deep Interest we take in your Lordship's Re-Election for the County of Devon—and the satisfaction it affords us in contributing towards an object in which the welfare and hopes of the people at large are so generally embarked.

With these Sentiments we beg to present our unfeigned and grateful acknowledgments for the eminent and important Services your Lordship has already rendered to our Country, by accomplishing those Reforms which do honor to the Sacred and inviolable principles so nobly advocated by your illustrious Ancestors and which afford a further assurance that the name of Russell will for ever be associated with British Constitutional Liberty.

[*Many signatures follow.*]

CHAPTER IV

The Ministry of Lord Grey—The reformed Commons—Municipal Poor Law and Irish reforms—Spanish affairs—Justice to Ireland—Extortions—The King's alarms at intended concessions in Ireland—Dismissal of the Whig Ministry—The Speakership—Communications with O'Connell—Russell Leader of the House—Corporations and municipal reform—Tithes—Legal changes—Judgeships—Militia reform—The Dorchester labourers—Orangemen in Ireland; their violence—Measures of repression.

(162) *Palmerston to Russell.*

STANHOPE STREET, *August 28, 1832,*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—I return you Lord William's letter; in which there is much Truth; however, one must always try to make the best of Things as they are; Pedro wants not only a little Daring, but more Means; with so small a Force Daring might be Rashness—as to the Spanish Ships they will be long enough coming, and when they do, I think Parker can be answerable for their good Behaviour.

I do not believe either that the Spanish Troops will act; but in good Truth the best thing for Pedro would be that they should. Palmella goes

the Day after To-morrow, and we give him a Steam Boat to take him to Villa Real.

I will take care that the Bulletins shall be sent you as you desire.

Yours sincerely,

PALMERSTON.

(163) *Holland to Russell* [*much abbreviated*].

October 26, 1832.

DEAR JOHN,—To the question you put to Lord Grey, and have agreed at his instance to refer to me, in the terms in which it stands in your letter of yesterday, namely “to determine whether Grey’s government would be best supported by your remaining to vote for the plan of Church Reform with such feelings as you therein describe, or by your retirement from office.” . . . I am strongly fortified in my judgment by the opinion and conduct of Althorp, who agrees entirely with you in your principle, who certainly dislikes office more than you do, and who, I need not add, is a man who acts in all matters with a scrupulous, deliberate, and inflexible regard to his publick duty and private conscience, but who, entertaining your principles and opinions remains and will support Stanley’s plan from a conscientious conviction that it is *his duty* to do so. To recapitulate the prolix judgment I have ventured to pronounce, I am of opinion that your migration on this point would be highly injurious to the Ministry and the Country, and secondly, that as far as I under-

stand your general principles and the outlines of Stanley's plan, the latter, though it falls short of your views, is not inconsistent with them, and that you consequently, are neither surrendering or betraying them by acquiescing in and supporting a plan which falls short of them.

Your very tiresome but conscientious Judge and friend,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

(164) *William Russell to Russell.*

LISBON, *December 3, 1832* [?].

MY DEAR JOHN,—The Appointment of Denman does you great credit, but I can't say so much for your diplomatic appointments. . . . Temple I know nothing of, but as Palmerston's brother is entitled to a good appointment your love of Tories who abuse and undermine you is to me incomprehensible.

I have had another violent breeze with the Admiral, for having put five poor devils on board Edward's ship. He is a great fool, and very injurious to the English interests here. However, we are now the best friends in the world again. If I had such a man as Codrington here I could knock this horrible Government on the head.

Pray lend a favourable ear to Palmella and do all he wants, do a little wrong to do a great good, really your policy towards this Country is not right.

Affectionately yours,

G. W. R.

(165) *Sir James Graham to Russell.*

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.

ADMIRALTY, *December 5, 1832.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—I am sincerely sorry not to have written to you, but I had nothing to say which was satisfactory ; and you may rejoice in your absence from London for the last ten days, which have abounded more in annoyances, embarrassments, and disappointments than I remember at any former time. Gerard makes no progress ; and Leopold and his Belgians are almost as refractory and obstinate as the Dutch. Pedro, with the means of success in his hands, has thrown the chance away by petty jealousies which reign in his Camp and by the want of an efficient Commander. The Douro is closed by Batteries which command the Bar ; provisions are failing, ammunition scarce, the Mercenaries greedy, and the Money gone. Full Powers have been given to your Brother and Parker to treat at Lisbon for an Armistice and for a Regency to the exclusion of both Brothers with a Party, which is represented as powerful and commanding Miguel's Army. This would be a good termination, but it is better, I fear, than we can now expect. Lord Wellesley *talks* of going to Lisbon and Madrid on a special Mission "to settle the Peninsula" ; while he is talking of it, I hope Lord William and Parker will do the thing. Terrible angry feelings afloat about the

Chair; Abercromby furious; Brougham much out of humour; and I see *Breakers ahead!* I have also my fears about the Elections; the Radicals will be stronger than we imagined, and the Destructives will overpower the Conservatives. If the Executive, however composed, lose the Control in the first Session over the Reformed House, the Meteor will be hurried into Space, and Chaos is at hand. If we cannot direct it, this Dissolution renders the Task impossible for others; and now, as you wished to hear from me, I leave you to the enjoyment of those cheerful meditations, with which I shall occupy my journey to the other Extremity of England.

Vive, Vale.

(166) *William Russell to Russell.*

LISBON, July 3, 1833.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have received your letter of the 20th. The state of England is most alarming. It is impossible for you to remain with the sword of Damocles or Wellington over your head. . . . It strikes me you must do one of two things, either go full swing down the wind of public opinion, cut and slash and clash and stop when you can, or take Peel into the Government and make your stand now, trusting to the support of the moderate party and setting the Radicals at defiance, but to stay where you are is impossible. . . . What have you sent such an enormous squadron for? Are you going to

declare for Maria in the eleventh hour? Things look a little better here, but all goes *piano piano* and not *sano sano*—I don't know what to say to it all. It is clear that although the Portuguese don't like Miguel, they like Pedro and the Constitution still less; they would prefer little Maria with a good Government of all parties, and a partial reform of abuses. I think you made a fault in not putting her by force on the throne, and another in sending such a *sanguinaire sans-culotte* as Hoppner here. If Pedro comes here as Conqueror it is very doubtful whether his Government will last a year; if Miguel conquers you have made him an irreconcilable foe. In short, you have made a mess and put your foot in it; however, time and chance may clear it away, energy and wisdom will do nothing. The Cholera continues to rage here, and as Government does nothing to check it, I don't see why it should not carry off all the inhabitants. . . .

Affectionately,

G. W. R.

P.S. I have this instant had a good account from the South. Villa-Flor is getting on, by Admiral Parker's account it appears you are going to pick a quarrel with Miguel about Portwine. Oh! *no, no*, I hope not; take a manly course, say at once you are for Maria, and don't squabble about Port or Brandy or any nastiness—the Cabinet must be drunk. Mind, I won't do

any dirty work, nor act as bully; besides, how can this weak, exhausted Country say NO, to fat, rich, plethoric John Bull.

(167) *William Russell to Russell.*

BRUSSELS, *August 23, 1833.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I am sorry to hear that your health has suffered in carrying through your arduous task, but I hope it is no more than what fresh air and rest will restore.

I wish your Cabinet were not so dreadfully suspicious and distrustful of the French. Nobody can have behaved better than they have done in all this business. Good faith, moderation, and generosity have characterised all their proceedings, and they have completely won Leopold's heart. You appear to me to be going out of your way to pick quarrels about straws, and delaying the final settlement of Dutch and Belgian differences on which hangs the peace of Europe. As long as that question is open there is no day on which a quarrel between France and England may not burst out. Nothing but the French forbearance has hitherto prevented it. Remember on what terms you would go to war with France. England would either not support you at all, or support you *si mollement* that you must bring your war to a disgraceful issue. The Tories who now urge you on to war would be the first to desert you and to throw it in your teeth; the Radicals

would attempt to rouse the whole country. Ireland would rebel, and we should all feel the humiliation of being at war, with the Despots, against a Constitutional Government, on the side of ignorance and barbarity against civilization, freedom, and instruction, and all this to prevent the French from remaining 2 or 3 months in this country, as if it mattered one straw whether they remained or not. Remember, too, on what terms you would begin your war; the French are now in virtual possession of all this country, they could occupy every fortress without firing a shot, and even now they could find an excuse for occupying Antwerp if they chose it; and who, I should like to ask you, is to get them out? No, I cannot believe your Government can do anything so wicked and impolitic as to go to war with France, although we have such sinister reports here. If France and England remain united the Peace of the World may be maintained for years; if not, we shall have a war that will upset every Government in Europe and destroy the whole system of order.

The great point now is to settle this question decidedly and definitely, it will never be done in London, dinners and amusements intervene too often; besides, there are parties concerned there whose object is to keep it open, and who have been too successful. Full powers should be given to Adair and Belhaven, and in one or two months all would be settled. Whilst the

Conference in London is doing nothing, Antwerp is going to ruin, and the inhabitants starving and the whole Country in a state of malaise—Pray use your influence on these important questions to keep on in the straight course and tell Lord Holland and that so far from not feeling for the Poles I only endeavour not to think of them as a man turns away his head when a culprit receives the *coup de grâce*.

Affectionately yours,

G. W. R.

(168) *Bedford to Russell.*

1833.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I am not going to enter into a discussion with you on the merits of triennial Parliaments; you may be right and I wrong. All I have said is from anxiety on your own account. I fear you flatter yourself too much if you think that publick opinion is in favour of shortening the duration of Parliaments.

Your affte. Father,

B.

(169) *Memorandum by Russell on Irish Policy.*

Note.

PHŒNIX PARK, October 18, 1833.

1. A Government party ought to be formed, and cemented by every possible means. For this

purpose the Orange Magistracy in the North, and the repeal agitators in the South, ought both to be repressed.

2. The utmost firmness must be shewn in maintaining the law everywhere. Nobody in Ireland expects this to be done, and nothing but the fact convinces them.

3. In the course of improvement, and even by reason of improvement, numbers of bad tenants are cast adrift, and from idle loiterers become Whiteboys and Murderers. Independently of poor-laws some remedy might be devised for this evil.

4. On those estates which are not improving exorbitant rents are enacted by the distress of the landlord, from the distress of the tenant. Any scheme which should enable the Crown to purchase land on a large scale would give relief to such distressed landlords, and be the means of providing for great numbers of industrious tenants.

5. There are three principal religions in Ireland; the Establishment, few in numbers, but strong in landed property; the Roman Catholics, numerous and containing nearly all the very poor class; the Presbyterians, considerable in number, and remarkable for intelligence and commercial industry. All three ought to be provided for by the State.

6. Future enquiry may lead to some diminution of the revenues of the Established Church after all its proper uses have been provided for,

but this subject requires long and patient investigation before any decision is made.

[In March, 1833, Stanley's drastic proceedings in Ireland had driven that country almost to revolt. He resigned and took the Colonial Office, but from that time he diverged from the Whig party; in him they lost one of their strongest men, who eventually became Conservative Prime Minister.]

(170) *Lady Holland to Russell.*

1834 [?].

MY DEAR JOHN,—I always miss you, but never more than when an act of friendship or good nature is required; had you been here I should have entreated you to take care of Holland on Sunday till Tuesday, he is going to Brighton, and as he will be lodged in the Pavilion I think that it's so much better for his health than going out in the cold to join me at a Hotel, that I shall let him go alone, he will go in the coach—on account of his foot. Lord L— gives his great dinner for pricking Sheriffs, which I will not let Holland go to, for if he did he would have too much to do for his health on Monday, so he goes the day before at his leisure. I am afraid I cannot get him a companion as the other Ministers only go on Monday, with the exception of Lord Grey, who goes Sunday, but *must* be there at 3 o'clock. I wish you could

have gone, you would both have liked the journey and being together. Allen, perhaps, may be coaxed to go, but you would have been a delight. He will set off by 10 on Sunday.

Yours affectionately,

E. HOLLAND.

(171) *Russell to Moore.*

WHITEHALL, June 28, 1834.

MY DEAR MOORE,—You cannot doubt that I am very much gratified by your letter. My friends in general, I am glad to say, have both in the house and out of it cheered me with more praise than I deserve, and I believe, by dint of encouragement, they will at last make me what by nature I am not, namely, a good speaker.

But there are occasions on which one must express one's feelings, or sink into contempt. . . . I own I have not been easy during the period for which I thought it absolutely necessary to suspend the assertion of my opinions, in order to secure peace in this country.

If there is no hesitation or shrinking among us at the helm, we shall still pass through the straits in safety, but if there is, I see no sea-mark which can afford hope to the country.

Remember me kindly to Mrs. Moore,

Ever yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

(172) *Russell to Melbourne.*

September 22, 1834.

DEAR MELBOURNE,—I received only last night your letter of the 8th. I quite agree with you that the question of assembling Parliament requires great consideration, and that the pros and cons are both of great weight. But I attach little consequence, I confess, to any arguments drawn from suppositions that Parliament will not go along with us. In the present critical state of affairs, I own I think it the duty of Government to adopt a decided course of policy, and ask parliament for their support, and I own I think from all I know of the House of Commons that they will be far more likely, to support a Ministry exacting than one which pursues the wretched, wavering, blundering course of policy which was adopted last session. The House of Commons *then* naturally say, "These fellows don't know what they're about; we must take the affair into our own hands, and manage it for them."

I am aware that it would not do to propose coercive laws, if there were no practical act on the part of O'Connell to justify it. The misfortune is that having prepared in Tipperary and the other counties his whole means [?], he may open his battery in Dublin about the 20th November, when it is too late to call Parliament before Christmas. What I should be inclined to propose then is this: That Parliament should be called together to reconsider the

tithe question, and that we should introduce a bill on the principle of that of last year, only clearly providing that all money advanced by the Treasury should be repaid out of the property of the Church, and that livings where there were not a tenth of the population churchmen should be suspended when vacant, for that purpose.

That in proposing this measure Government should declare that they were ready to protect the Protestants of Ireland from any club government which should pretend to direct elections, and intimidate juries. That, if necessary, a bill would be brought in for that purpose; if not necessary, the law would be strictly enforced against associations of this description.

This course would be clear and intelligible, and would, I am sure, be successful in the House of Commons. The Lords probably would again reject the tithe bill; upon them let the responsibility rest.

Leaving this for your consideration, I will only add that I hope, whatever independent members of parliament may do, that no member of the Government will seek any intercourse, or ask for any truce from O'Connell. I could have wished, I must say, that the chief ministerial paper had not joined with O'Connell in condemning Lord Grey.

Auckland comes here to-day, and I shall have some talk with him to-morrow, and then go back to Endsleigh.

Yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

(173) *Russell to Melbourne.*

WHITEHALL, *September 29, 1843.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I think the time is now come when I ought to bring under your consideration, preparatory to the deliberations of the Cabinet, the question of consolidating the civil departments of the Army.

For this purpose I send you some printed papers, and will shortly explain their nature, as well as my general views on the subject.

In the month of March, 1833, Lord Grey named the Duke of Richmond, then Postmaster-General, Sir John Hobhouse, then Secretary at War, and myself, to consider the propriety of some new arrangement of the civil offices connected with the Army. The result was that we recommended in a short paper (marked A.) the formation of an Army Board, to control the finances of the Army and Ordnance departments. Subsequently a Commission was recommended to the King, and the Duke of Richmond, Sir James Kempt, Mr. Ellice, Sir Robert Dundas, and I were named members of that Commission. We took evidence, and the draft of a report was prepared by the Duke of Richmond, but the pressure of other business produced such a delay that on the 27th of May, when the Duke of Richmond resigned, no meeting had taken place on the subject of that report. Indeed, I believe the evidence had been printed only a very short time before. The Duke of Richmond then

resigned his seat as a member of the Commission, of which he was the chief, and in which his ability and zeal had been more conspicuous than that of any other Member. He sent me the King's commission, and all the papers printed and manuscript, but I have not thought it necessary or useful to reassemble the remaining Members of the Commission.

I must now, however, call your attention to the draft Report drawn up by the Duke of Richmond, stating at the same time that in the general purport of that Report I entirely concur. I will only add one or two general observations to the grounds and reasons there stated.

The best way of expediting public business is to place every department under one head, or one body of men, who are responsible for the whole. It is found by experience that separate and independent authorities lose the time by perpetual communications, with not unfrequent wrangles and disputes. Such was the case with the Board of Admiralty before the consolidation of the Navy and Victualling Boards. It is the case with the many and anomalous bodies which form the Army. The Commander in Chief, looking only to the efficiency of the army, disregards the necessity of defending all military expenditure before the House of Commons. The Secretary at War, having no means of forming a judgement on military discipline, is unable to undertake the responsibility of measures on which he is called on for explana-

tion. The Treasury, likewise, unable to judge of matters of military detail, refer them to the Comptrollers of Army Accounts, who are thus a check on the Secretary at War. The Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital consider themselves, as they are entitled to do, quite independent, both of the Commander in Chief, and the Secretary at War.

These evils may no doubt be obviated at particular times when a Commander in Chief of high authority, such as the Duke of York, or the Duke of Wellington, sways the whole military finance, or a Secretary at War of practical knowledge in the profession of arms, such as Sir Henry Hardinge, can bend and influence the Commander in Chief. But in other circumstances both Sir John Hobhouse, and Mr. Ellice can tell what inconveniences daily arise from the separation of authorities.

The Minute of 1812, which was long resisted by Lord Palmerston, has not remedied the evils before experienced. It merely interposes a clog on the transaction of public business.

The true remedy is to be found, either in the appointment of a Board as recommended in the draft Report, or in the creation of a Secretary of State for the War department only. The former measure would be attended with an immediate saving, which can hardly be expected from the latter.

Should the suggestion of a Board be adopted, I have one suggestion to make with respect to

the office of Paymaster of the Forces. Upon reflexion I am convinced that the Cashiers ought not to be appointed by the Treasury, as recommended in the report (at my desire) but that one of the three civil members of the Board should perform the duties, and have the authority of Paymaster General. In the Chelsea Board, and at the Ordnance, the Treasurer is a member of the Board. The whole machinery would thus be brought together, and the various parts act without difficulty or delay.

I will only add that I pledged myself last year in the House of Commons that before the Estimates were again brought forward, this important question should be decided by the Government. I trust, therefore, that after reading the papers, you will bring the question before the Cabinet, in order that if any new arrangement is to be adopted, a bill may be brought into Parliament soon after the commencement of the Session.

I remain,

Ever yours faithfully,

J. RUSSELL.

(174) *Russell to the Earl of Durham.*

HAWICK, *October 19, 1834.*

MY DEAR LORD DURHAM,—I am sorry to see that discussions have arisen respecting the origin of the Reform Bill, and that the *Edinburgh Review* has still further, but partial dis-

closures. Such, however, being the case, it may help both your memory and mine if I state to you what my recollections furnish on the subject. I have papers in London which will corroborate or correct the greater part of what I am going to say.

In the latter end of November or beginning of December, 1830, I went by your desire to your house in Cleveland Row, where you informed me that you had received a commission from Lord Grey to ask for my assistance in forming a committee to prepare a plan of Reform. We then agreed to invite Sir James Graham and Lord Duncannon to be with ourselves members of that committee.

In a short time I proposed to the committee the heads of a plan of reform. The two first articles disfranchised fifty boroughs, and allotted only one member to fifty others. Householders of a certain ruled value (I think £10) were to vote in all the old boroughs, and of a certain other value (I think £15) in the new boroughs to be created. The enfranchisement of large towns, the admission of copyholders to vote in counties, and the shortening the duration of the poll formed part of the plan. I have it now among my papers with the words "Ld. J. Russell's Plan of Reform," written in your handwriting on the outside.

We had many and anxious discussions. Sir James Graham proposed a plan of registration, which we adopted, with some alterations. Plans

of reforms for Scotland and Ireland were discussed and adopted. At my suggestion it was proposed to limit the duration of Parliament to five years. In the course of our discussions you very much pressed the mode of voting by ballot. I was very reluctant in the subject of this change, but finding the other members of the committee against me, I consented, on condition that the franchise in towns should be raised to twenty pounds. I thought this was the most likely method of preventing the bribery and profligacy which I apprehended would ensue from the ballot.

When the plan was submitted to the Cabinet the ballot was struck out. The committee even afterwards found that a £20 franchise would restrict the numbers very greatly in small boroughs, and proposed to the cabinet the uniform suffrage of ten pounds yearly value. This change was adopted.

After all, however, the plan contained hardly any thing new. Lord Grey and other reformers had repeatedly since the year 1780 drawn the great outlines of Parliamentary Reform.

The real question in debate was, whether we should propose an incomplete and therefore gradual reform, or a large and comprehensive plan, which we might hope to make a final Measure.

The authority of Lord Grey, and the dangerous excitement consequent on the Duke of Wellington's denial of all reform induced me to

think that the latter was the safer proposition. In adopting it, I gave up some preconceived opinions, and discarded some apprehensions, which I trust that events will prove to have been unfounded.

Such is the substance of my recollections on this subject. I shall keep a copy of this letter, in order to show it to Lord Duncannon and Sir James Graham.

I remain, with great regard,
Yours faithfully,

J. RUSSELL.

(175) *Earl of Durham to Russell.*

LAMBTON CASTLE, November 7, 1834.

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—Lord Grey had sent me your letter to him (with a copy of Sir Herbert's) in which you say that you shall avail yourself of the King's permission to state, in your place in Parliament, the circumstances attending the preparation of the Reform Bill.

This, no doubt, was written before you knew the course advised by Lord Grey and followed by me at Glasgow.

I am as anxious as you can be, that the charges against you and me and the Committee, in the *Edinburgh Review*, should be disproved in the fullest mode—but I am also desirous to have Lord Grey's approbation throughout the whole proceedings. He seems averse to the disclosure. What do you think best to be done?

If you decide on a full relation in Parliament of all our Proceedings, I must claim the right, as Chairman, to make the statement. In your letter to me of the 25th October you admit the justice of this, saying :

“If any statement is to be made, you, as Chairman of the Committee, are the proper person to make it, but it might perhaps be advisable that it should be made in both Houses of Parliament at the same time. However, I shall take no step until I know your course,” etc., etc.

Your letter of the 4th, received this morning, leaves me in doubt as to your intentions and wishes. Pray apprise me of them when it suits your convenience, as I am most anxious to act with you in this matter, in the fullest and most unreserved confidence.

The charge made is against us both — our vindication ought not to be separate.

Then another attack on you in the same article with regard to your Bribery Bill. I was on the Committee to which it was referred, and could give you a pretty specimen of the Chancellor's “deliberation” in making the alterations in it. They all came from him, in his own handwriting, and were concocted whilst he was sitting, hearing appeals, and the Committee actually waited two hours whilst he was writing them !

What you state respecting the paragraph in the Scotch Papers is only what I expected. I

had heard in London that the C. had expressed himself to the same effect—of course, I did not believe one word of what he avowed as to his favorable disposition towards me—on the contrary, I was firmly convinced that I had not a more decided personal opponent than himself. All his expressions and actions were those of a private friend—all his actions, behind my back, those of a bitter enemy.

Yours very truly,

DURHAM.

(176) *Grey to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

HOWICK, *November 15, 1834.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—There being no South post yesterday, I could not sooner answer your letter.

You cannot doubt, I hope, my sincere affection for you, and my most anxious wishes for your success in the difficult and arduous task which you seem inclined to undertake: a task which will require at once the soundest discretion, the most patient temper, and great physical strength. Of your ability to fill this or any other situation I have no doubt, but I confess I have great fear that you may not be able to support the fatigue, both bodily and mental, of duties, to which Althorp with his unswervable temper and strong constitution was hardly equal.

The difficulties of the Government, in consequence of the events which took place at the conclusion of the session, of those which have followed, and more particularly of the Glasgow Meeting and its consequences, are greater than ever. You cannot conceive how much all reasonable Men, who were sincere supporters of the government, have been alarmed by them, and how earnestly they look for the settlement of an administration which may have power to check a new system of agitation tending to destroy all the proposed advantages of the Reform Bill, and which may afford them some promise of Peace and Security. A little thing would make them fly over to a Tory Government for this, if no other hope were left to them.

For myself I am so strongly impressed with this feeling, that in the little part which I may hereafter take in publick affairs, my support can only be given to an administration which will take a firm position to maintain the necessary authority of Government, and to resist the Radicals and O'Connell.

The Duke of Bedford is not to be here till to-morrow ; not knowing where to direct to him I could not send him your letter, but I will shew it to him when he arrives.

Lady Grey desires to be very kindly remembered to you.

Believe me ever, Dear Lord John,
Yours very sincerely,

GREY.

(177) *Althorp to Russell.*

November 16, 1834.

[The King had dismissed his advisers and sent for the Duke of Wellington. The King was particularly hostile to Lord John Russell, dreading his projected reforms.]

MY DEAR JOHN,—This is the greatest piece of folly ever committed. It is, however, a great relief to me, and I think ultimately it will have a good effect on the state of Parties in the Country. We shall, however, have a little confusion at first.

Yours most truly,
ALTHORP.

(178) *Sir Herbert Taylor to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

ST. JAMES' PALACE, November 17, 1834.

MY DEAR LORD,—I cannot send the accompanying Letter by Command of the King without taking the liberty of addressing to you the Expression of my sincere thanks for the kindness and Attention which I have uniformly received from You, and of my regret at the Cessation of the Official Intercourse which has always been marked by so much Courtesy on your part.

Believe me to be ever with the truest regards,
My dear Lord,
Most faithfully yours,
H. TAYLOR.

(179) *Grey to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

HOWICK, *November 17, 1834.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—A letter from Melbourne which I received yesterday, had already informed me of the King's determination: yours reached me this morning.

Upon the most careful and impartial review of the situation in which the King was placed, I cannot blame his decision, and I feel persuaded that the Queen has had no hand [in] it. The shock first given to the Government by the resignation of Stanley and the others, that which followed it upon mine, the Chancellor's proceedings during the autumn, and the new impulse given to Radical agitation by Durham have, altogether, produced a state of things which, in my opinion made it impossible for the present Government to go on, and for your own sakes, but more particularly for yours, I do not think there is much cause for regret.

I do not think there will be much difficulty in forming a new administration, and less than many may suppose in maintaining it. Peel's absence, however, must create a considerable embarrassment.

The Duke arrived yesterday, and is looking, I am happy to say, remarkably well. Lady Georgiana is with him, and he gives us hopes of seeing the Duchess in about ten days. Pray let me hear from you during this interesting crisis.

Ever yours,

GREY.

(180) *Sir Herbert Taylor to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

ST. JAMES' PALACE, *November 17, 1834.*

MY DEAR LORD,—I have been prevented by continued Interruptions acknowledging earlier in the day the receipt of Your Lordship's Letter which I did not delay submitting to the King.

His Majesty orders me to say that Your Attendance at the Council upon this occasion was not necessary but that He regrets that Indisposition should have partly been the cause of Your Absence. His Majesty has commanded me further to assure You of His entire Satisfaction with the Manner in which Your Lordship has discharged the Duties of Your Office and of His Sense of the Zeal and Assiduity which You have shown as well of Your Attention to His Majesty in every Communication You have had occasion to make to Him.

I remain ever with great regard,

My dear Lord,

Yours very faithfully,

H. TAYLOR.

(181) *Mr. J. Wilson to Russell.*

CHELSEA COLLEGE, *November 25, 1834.*

MY LORD,—I cannot resist the desire to express to your Lordship how *deeply sensible* almost every individual of this Establishment feels for the zealous and constant interest which

you have shewn for their welfare and comfort, during the short period which you have presided at the head of it.

I regret I was not aware of your being here the other day—as I should have felt gratified in paying my respects to your Lordship, and in being a witness to the quiet ceremony of affixing, as it were, your *hand and seal* to the *Old Man's Paradise* which has been so happily called into existence under your Lordship's kind and considerate auspices.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,
Your Lordship's obliged and obedient Servant,
J. WILSON.

(182) *Bedford to Russell.*

B. SQUARE, *Thursday Morning.*
[*November or December, 1834.*]

MY DEAR JOHN,—From some passages in the letters which you read to me yesterday, I conclude that your decision is made to take what is called the *Lead* of the opposition in the House of Commons. I most sincerely regret it, for I am quite convinced that neither your health nor strength of constitution are equal to this irksome and laborious task, for you will have to conduct and keep in order a noisy and turbulent pack of hounds, which I think you will find it quite impossible to restrain: reflect that they are of all descriptions of parties, and shades of parties, Whigs, moderates, ultra Whigs,

Radicals, and ultra Radicals &c. &c. &c. How are all these to be managed? If you do (rashly I think) undertake this difficult task, I trust they will at least give you a good second huntsman, or whipper-in, to do all the dirty work, and undertake the laborious parts of the office. As your decision, however, is now made, I imagine, all I can do is to enter my solemn protest against it. I have other reasons for wishing you to decline it, but they are unimportant compared with this paramount consideration. I send you a letter from an old and consistent Whig of 50 years standing, and beg you will return it to me.

Ever your affectionate Father,

B.

Your friend Rundle is going his lengths at Tavistock.

(183) *Holland to Russell.*

HOLLAND HOUSE, *December, 1834.*

DEAR JOHN,—Your admirable speech which will do infinite good is quite sufficient to efface any unpleasant impression your letter to Rundle might make. The sins of that were at worst those of omission, and you misunderstood my feelings and Charles's upon it, if you suppose that we question the validity of your ground for being neutral or for distinctly stating your neutrality. But I thought that if a disclaimer of all interest about his election was necessary a word to imply that he had not forfeited your good opinion would have been natural, and the

impression that so very dry a disclaimer of one you before recommended might imply to others a charge about him was I assure you not so absurd as you suppose. It has been confirmed by more than one or two of our friends enquiring earnestly into the causes of it. However it is of little importance and gone by, and Charles annexes even less importance to it than others do for him. It is a consequence of your beloved brevity. I ought to add that Sir F. Knowles has behaved throughout very well to Charles. He is I hear discontented with Rundle.

Yours,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

I was interrupted by Bishop of Chichester who is full of your speech. That and Melbourne's will silence the tale of dissensions.

(184) *Earl Spencer to Russell.*

ALTHORP, *December 4, 1834.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—Charles Wood first and then Duncannon spoke to me about taking an active part in the lead of the Whig Party, and upon telling them that I could not undertake to do so Duncannon desired me to write to you to tell you so.

I do not think now that I am in the House of Lords that the use I can be of is sufficient to render it imperative upon me to make the sacrifice of comfort, happiness and eventually of health which I have hitherto been making.

People will very possibly be angry with me for not continuing to be, what they may think, a useful instrument to forward our common objects, but I do not think it reasonable that because I have already made all the sacrifices, which have been required from me, I should be blamed for not continuing to do so to the end of my life ; more especially when every body must agree that they cannot be of anything like the use they hitherto have been. But in addition to this there is for the next Session at least an insuperable obstacle to my appearing in political life, and that is the state of my private affairs, which requires my constant attention in order that I may place myself in a state not of ease, but of safety ; for as I am at present situated a very small and not impossible fall in the rental of my property would leave me pennyless. I found when in town that several people admitted this last to be a good plea, who would not admit the entire sacrifice of my happiness to be any plea at all ; I do not agree with them, but I think that on both I am justified in retiring from public life, and so thinking I told Duncannon and Wood that they must not expect me to take any active share in the party concerns.

I do not think the Party will lose much by this. When I was moved from the House of Commons my strength was gone ; for as to a man in the House of Lords having any influence over an independent party in the House of Commons, I believe it to be utterly impossible,

and the attempt at it would only provoke confusion and difficulty. This I think applies to any man, but if you consider the qualities which gave me influence in the House of Commons you will see that it must apply to me more than to almost any other man.

You desired me not to take a rash step, the only rash step I could have taken as things then were would have been to take Office, because it was the one which could not be retraced ; and for the same reason the most rash step I could take now would be to recommence political life in a new Assembly, when so natural an opportunity of retiring has been afforded to me.

I have now done as Duncannon told me to do, and have let you know what my intentions are ; I feel now I shall hold to them, but I have lived too long to pledge myself to any thing in futurity.

Yours most truly,
SPENCER.

(185) *Charles Greville to Tavistock.*

John's speech at Totnes¹ [on Dec. 2nd] appears to me to have been one of the cleverest and most appropriate I ever read. . . . Nothing could be more able than John's argument or on the whole more forcible.

¹ The speech was an exposition of Whig views and of the untenable assumption of reforming principles by the Tories under Wellington.

(186) *Bedford to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

W. A., December 7, 1834.

MY DEAR JOHN,—Thanks for your letter of the 4th. I have read your speech at the Totnes dinner with much pleasure—it is a straightforward manly speech, and your hit at “his Grace between two Bank Directors” was very happy. I concur in all your observations; it would not do to have the mover and manager of the Reform Bill (with all due respect to Lord Durham) beaten—on the other hand a lavish expenditure is against the interest and principles of the Reformers’ measure. When I hear of £28,000 being spent in the last Election at Bedford by Messrs. Crawley and Polhill it makes my hair stand on end. These gentlemen were what Mr. Lilburne (the late Mr. Whitbread’s steward) used to call “*lascivious* of their money.” I hear Charles Fox is gone to Tavistock. I hope he may beat Rundle. They are very wrath with you at Holland House I hear for turning him *overboard*!

I hope you will recruit a little at Endsleigh by getting some moorland shooting.

I am going to town in a day or two—direct Belgrave Square. Peel is now in the Field, or will be to-morrow. We shall hear what this cautious General says before he puts himself at the head of his Tories.

Ever your affec. Father,

B.

On December 9, 1834, Charles Greville wrote the letter to Palmerston given on p. 159.

(187) *Viscount Duncannon to Russell.*

WOBURN ABBEY, *December 10, 1834.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I did not answer your former letter; the Bill is quite ready and down regularly, the paper I sent round was an abstract of it, made from it.

You ask about Tithe; at present it is quite [illegible], and I do not believe a farthing is collected, indeed in the local papers I see the Clergy themselves seemed to have given it up. I hear the Duke of W.'s friends say that from some of the papers he has found that were prepared for me, he is convinced that a very extreme Church Reform must take place in Ireland, though the only papers I left were those that were in circulation, and which told nothing more than what has been asserted for the last twenty years. I perfectly well understand why the Tory papers persist in saying that you had tried to force this Bill on the King. He has talked to them very openly, and he never gave any assent to a Bill of yours, and therefore they can assert that "He would die first"—this is all quibble. Everything looks well, they will certainly gain in some counties, but I cannot by possibility see how they can gain what they hold not. I had a letter to-day from Palmerston in good

spirits about his affairs. I have no doubt, indeed never had, of an immediate dissolution.

Truly yours,

DUNCANNON.

(188) *Mr. Richard Neave to Russell.*

ROYAL HOSPITAL, CHELSEA, *December 24, 1834.*

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the minute transmitted by your Lordship, and to assure you, on behalf of myself and the other individuals alluded to therein, that the contents are, to us, most gratifying. Indeed we cannot but be highly flattered with so honorable a Record of your favorable opinion, and in return, I may be allowed to repeat that there is but one common Sentiment of respect entertained for your Lordship by the members of this Establishment and one common feeling of regret at your ceasing to preside over its care and Management. With the same good wishes I have ever felt and shall ever retain.

I have the honor to be, My Lord,
Your most obedient and very faithful servant,
RICHARD NEAVE.

(189) *Melbourne to Russell.*

SOUTH STREET, *January 5, 1835.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have received this morning a letter from Abercromby, in which he says, "I have quite made up my mind that I will not consent to be proposed in opposition to Sutton,

and as against any other Person I should have equally strong objections, but of a different sort. I do not see why Bernal should not do perfectly well. He would be an excellent Speaker," &c. &c.

I send you this because it appears to me to be quite decisive upon the subject, and to close a matter, which in my former letter I considered as still open. Abercromby says, that although opposed, his election is quite secure, and that the party in Scotland is firm and steady, though at present not violent or clamorous. I say nothing at present more generally about Politics, as all must be mere presumption and conjecture, until we see how the elections turn, and what is really to be the character of the House of Commons.

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

(190) *Russell to Melbourne.*

WOBURN ABBEY, *January 5, 1835.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I do not wonder that you are bothered with the difficulties attending the disposal of the Great Seal.

The arrangement we agreed to would be very much weaken'd, if the Master of the Rolls (Bickersteth) ¹ were to be out of Parliament, and Campbell ² to have his office. The consequence

¹ Afterwards Lord Langdale.

² John Campbell, author of "The Lives of the Lord Chancellors," and of "The Lives of the Chief Justices."

probably would be that our bills of Law Reform would be mutilated in the Lords, where Pepys would not be able to withstand Lyndhurst and Abinger, and scouted in the Commons where our poor efforts would be overborne by Campbell.

I think therefore you should make another attempt to bring matters right.

With Bickersteth you may agree that a peerage shall not be pressed upon him at this time, but I think you may make him feel how inconsistent is his professed ardour for Chancery Reform, with a resolution to stand aloof and take no part in the fray. If Campbell remains, I should not wish to see him in the House of Commons; he would only excite feeling there. Neither can you ask him, as Master of the Rolls, to assist the general policy of the Government, for the place is not political; but you may fairly ask him to assist, if called upon, in aiding the success of a good measure of reform.

With respect to Campbell, I think as the Speaker has been spoken to, it will be well to put the matter in his hands. Adam tells me he used to be strongly against making a Common Lawyer an Equity Judge.

It is clear you cannot promise him the supreme judgeship on Appeals, till matters are further cleared—the profession—the cabinet—the King—must be all thought of and consulted. But it is clear that it is a situation which will be open to him, and he will be justified in resigning if

he does not obtain it, after assisting *in office* to pass the Bill.

If both applications fail, I think you must still carry the arrangement into effect. The public and the suitors will approve of an arrangement so much calculated for their benefit, and not for our individual advantage. But it is worth while to pause a day or two more, in order to see if you cannot retain Campbell.

Tavistock is ready to abide by your opinion respecting the publication of his letter—he desires you will remark, however, that the phrase is not his but mine. It is quite true—I used it at the Bristol dinner, in an endeavour to condense what I said at the Devon election last year.

I do not see any good myself in the publication of the letter—for other reasons——

Ellice writes to my father a good deal out of humour with us, and anxious to fight in opposition against a Government of Lord Grey and Peel—Rather he than I!

I shall be in town on Thursday, and at your orders. If you like to come and dine with us on that day, say so.

Yours truly,

J. R.

(191) *Palmerston to Russell.*

BROADLANDS, *January 22, 1835.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—You will have seen since you wrote to me that we have been

defeated. I did not expect it till the end of the First Day's Poll. Till that moment I had felt confident that I should be second. I had 114 defaulters who having promised, did not vote for me, but even their Defection will not account for my Defeat, unless a large Portion of them went over to Compton, which I do not believe. The event was the Result of an immense Combination of Tory Influence, assisted by the Distressed State of the Farmers who being in arrear, and looking for abatements were more than usually dependent on Landlords: The Cry of the Church in Danger had also some Effect; and absurd though it be, Althorp's additional Duty on Spirit Licences lost us a good many votes. But the Root of the Evil was Inattention at the Time of Registration; This I shall be able to correct in future, and shall put Several Hundred good men and true upon the Register next year. In the Mean Time I must see if I can find any other resting Place till another general Election.

I quite agree with you about the Speakership; it would be impossible for us to vote for Manners Sutton; and with the Returns we have, I think we shall beat him, if we put up a good Candidate. Either Abercromby or Rice would be excellent Men; but I own I should be sorry, like you, to see Rice in the Chair, instead of being more actively and usefully employed in Cabinet office. I am afraid that Littleton would not be carried if we were to propose him; and

a Failure would not be agreeable to him, and would be injurious to the Party. But you would probably have some Communication with him on the subject before you decided upon any other particular arrangement. I have no doubt you would find him perfectly reasonable about it.

I admire greatly your after Dinner Speech about Ballot; it puts the argument concisely and convincingly; If anything could have reconciled me to that absurd Plan, it would have been my Experience in my recent Canvass; I am certain that under a System of Ballot, I should have had a very large Majority. But exceptional advantages cannot counterbalance inherent objections; and yet after all I should not be surprized to find some of these days Tories and Radicals combining to become Balloters, each hoping by such Means to steal a March upon the others. For certainly the Radicals would lose Power by Ballot in many Towns where they at present Lord it over all.

I was told confidentially the other Day that the Duke had said to Sarmento that he confessed he had been wrong about the affairs of Portugal. But whether he said so or not, he certainly has taken up our Hand, and is playing out our Game, upon which in due Time we shall not fail to say a word or Two; but it would be impolitic to notice it now, or to begin to Crow, lest we might thereby stop him in his new Career and prevent him from doing the good Things which he is preparing to Submit to.

I dined with Leuchtenberg at Salisbury on Sunday last, and was greatly pleased with his Manners and Intelligence ; I wish we had had him for Victoria instead of sending him to Maria.¹

Yours sincerely,

PALMERSTON.

If you wander any way near this on your Return to Town I hope you will not forget my Inn.

(192) *Russell to Mr. Rice.*²

BOWOOD, *January 23, 1835.*

MY DEAR RICE,—As the rumours which have been circulated by means of the newspapers respecting the cause of the dissolution of the late Ministry may be repeated on the meeting of parliament, I think it may be useful to record in writing the result of our frequent conversations.

My belief is that altho' we had not agreed on any very definite plan respecting the Irish Church, you and I were perfectly of one mind on the principle that when the spiritual instruction of Protestants had been fully provided for in any district it was right and expedient to

¹ Claimant to the throne of Portugal, supported by Palmerston.

² See note in Appendix. Mr. Spring Rice was afterwards first Lord Monteagle. In 1834 he had been Secretary for War and the Colonies.

apply any surplus which might remain, to the education of all classes of the people according to the system now pursued by the Board of National Education in Ireland.

Lord Lansdowne, to whom I have shewn this note, says in reply : " You have stated correctly in substance what I feel as to the best local application (and local, I think, it must be) of the possible surplus of funds after providing for and exhausting every exclusively protestant demand, to the objects of general education under the Board as it now exists, or under any extended constitution which it might be expedient to give to it. The amount of such surplus, and the number of parishes in which it would be found applicable, depending, of course, upon what we have not yet before us, the report of the Commissioners."

May I ask whether I have here stated correctly your opinion, as well as Lord Lansdowne's and mine?

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

J. RUSSELL.

(193) *Spencer to Russell.*

WISETON, *January 28, 1835.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—The Date of this letter must be my excuse for not accepting your invitation to Woburn.

I will begin with the end of your note. I

do not promise myself that I shall not be called upon to undertake the task of forming a new Government because that does not depend on me, but I have promised myself, a promise which I shall religiously keep, that if I am so called upon I shall decline the undertaking. Every day more and more convinces me that if I was in any circumstances or for any cause to take office again, I should be guilty of a greater act of folly than any human being ever committed. I will not in this even except his Most Gracious Majesty's grand performance in dismissing Melbourne. This, at present, is the greatest act of folly with which I am acquainted, and I think will remain so unless I should commit the greater one of again involving myself in the misery from which I have had the good fortune to escape.

Now I come to your two questions. I think it would not be prudent to oppose the election of Sutton as Speaker unless you have a strong probability of doing so successfully, and, of course, with this view it is essentially necessary that there should be no difference of opinion among yourselves as to who should be the man you propose. In a letter I had from Rice he told me that Abercromby would not take the chair, and in that case I think Rice would unite more people than any one else could do, but if, as it appears from your letter, Abercromby is still a candidate, you will be involved in some difficulty, because there are a good many people

who will be far from cordial in their support of Abercromby, and yet his claim is so strong or will be supported by many persons of so much importance that I should fear if you were not to put him forward there would be a good deal of bad temper excited. You must settle this, therefore, before you begin even to think whether you should propose an Opposition Candidate for the Chair. I should think that if you make the attempt and fail you will strengthen the Ministry considerably, if you succeed you damage them a great deal more. You have the question of whether you will make the attempt quite open: you are not bound to make it unless you like, but if you think you can succeed you are perfectly justified by Sutton's conduct in the late change in making it.

With respect to the other question I think in the House of Commons you have no option. The King having followed the Change in the Administration by an appeal to the people, I think the People have a right to demand that their Representatives elected in answer to that appeal should be called upon to say at once whether they approve of the dismissal of the late Government or not. In Policy also this is the best course, for although in a vote upon an amendment to the address you will have Stanley and those who act with him against you, and perhaps also some little prejudice from the nature of the question, yet I think that if you allow the Ministry to get over the night of the

Address you will not find it a very easy matter to turn them out afterwards when the questions to be discussed will be individual measures. The continuance of the present Ministry would be a great evil, my belief is that they will be succeeded by a Radical administration, and I admit that from the experience I had of the hostility of the two parties I personally dislike the Radicals more than I do the Tories, but if an administration, be it what it may, is permitted to continue in existence who come into office in the manner the administration did, an injury will be done to the Constitution of the Country, and therefore I hope whoever may be their successors that they, at least, may be turned out. All I have been saying about an amendment to the Address applies only to the House of Commons. The moving one in the House of Lords would, at the best, be useless, and it is not required there by the reasons which, in my opinion, make it necessary in the Commons.

They had no confidence in the late Ministry, and no appeal has been made to them, nor can anybody doubt whether they will support the present Ministry. The moving an amendment there, therefore, could do no good and would only give a victory to the ministry which even in the House of Lords had better be avoided.

I have now given you a good long lore of my opinions, and of course what I have said about the Speakership must be strictly confi-

dential. My opinions are not worth much now, every day they will be worth less, for I take so little interest in political matters and always have that I never keep my information up to the mark when I am not compelled to do so.

Yours most truly,

SPENCER.

(194) *Rice to Russell.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

HASTINGS, *January 29, 1835.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—I can have no difficulty whatever in answering your question, and am grateful at having an opportunity of doing so, in consequence of the false statements which have been circulated respecting a supposed difference of opinion between you and me on the question of the Irish Church Reform.

There was an entire and perfect agreement between you and me respecting the principles on which we were ready to proceed ; and though it was impossible to decide how those principles should have been applied till the Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was received, I have not the remotest apprehension that we should have differed more upon the one point than on the others.

This agreement of opinion between us, as you will know, existed before I was your colleague in the Government, as I had explained my views

to you and to others before my appointment to the Colonial Office could have been contemplated, and to the principles which I then stated it was peculiarly gratifying to me to find that I had your full concurrence.

I then held that the first use to which the Revenues of the Irish Church stood pledged was for the religious instruction of the members of the establishment. But believing, as I did, and as I still do, that a surplus exists after such provision is made, I was desirous that such surplus should be appropriated for the general education of all classes of the King's subjects in Ireland in schools open to all without religious distinctions. The plan introduced by Stanley, sanctioned repeatedly by Parliament and extended so generally throughout Ireland seemed to me to afford the best means of realising these expectations.

I have always maintained that this plan introduced no new principle whatever, and could lead to no precedent dangerous or even inconvenient to the Church of England. By existing Statutes Irish Church property is subject to an obligation to maintain schools. By custom and I think on sound principles, the obligation is converted into a pecuniary payment. On the highest authorities both lay and ecclesiastic the right of extending such pecuniary contribution is not only asserted but recommended, and on the same authority as well as from the reasons of the case, the system of Education was not

to be sectarian or peculiar, but was to be liberal and comprehensive.

Always, my dear Lord John,
Yours very faithfully,
SPRING RICE.

(195) *Marquis of Lansdowne to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

Bowood, *February 1, 1835.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—Your letter of the 28th from Woburn did not reach me till the 31st, and the same post brought me a letter of later date from Strickland telling me you were gone to town, where I consequently now direct to you.

I am very glad on all publick grounds that Abercromby has been induced to let himself be proposed for the Chair—indeed, my only regret at what has passed is that Rice seemed to like the prospect and must have considered it a few days ago as quite open to him. I trust, therefore, you have written to him on the subject in the most friendly and considerate terms.

But your letter to me opens a still more important and difficult topick. I am concerned to hear that Duncannon has been in correspondence with O'Connell. To what length it may have proceeded I have, of course, no means of knowing, and any person out of office that thinks there is anything to be gained by venturing upon such dangerous ground, may exercise his own discretion in doing so, without necessarily implicating others, but it must in justice to all parties

be so understood, and, as far as I am individually concerned I must protest against being involved in the consequences of any such communications, should they in any degree assume the character of party concert and alliance.

As to that intercourse which in the position you must occupy in the House of Commons will occasionally take place between you and others who may be more or less recognized as political leaders, it cannot be avoided; but there is a broad line of demarcation between that and intimate councils, which, considering the tendencies of all oppositions, and the present state of parties, cannot, if you feel as I should in your situation, be too strictly and carefully observed—those (whoever they may be) who will have the task of reducing the chaos we are about to witness to something like order and regularity of movement, will have difficulties enough to contend with, without adding to them by unnecessary pledges, and raising expectations which can never be realized.

I cannot, however, consider the two cases to which you advert as precisely parallel, though I think they should be dealt with at present in the same way—in the one the objects of personal ambition are much more impracticable, and the power employed in pursuing them much greater, than in the other.

I have now given you my opinion fully and in perfect confidence, as you desire, and will only add that if you think there is the slightest

use in it, though I see but little myself, I will take care to be in town before the 17th.

Very sincerely yours,

LANSDOWNE.

You must not expect Stanley to vote against Sutton.

I draw the same inference as to Abercromby's indisposition to violent proceedings that you do from his letters to me, but if he is to be Speaker this is of less consequence.

(196) *Memorandum in Lord John Russell's Handwriting.*

[See Spring Rice *re* "liberal and comprehensive," Jan. 29, '35; T. F. Buxton wrote on Feb. 13, '35: "I do not forget 'liberal and comprehensive.'"]

"In conclusion to represent humbly to His Majesty that the expectations of the country will not be satisfied with anything short of men who will fairly and frankly adopt the liberal and comprehensive principles on which the Reform Act was founded, or with anything less than measures which the House of Commons lately dissolved was prepared to adopt."

(197) *Stanley¹ to Russell.*

KNOWSLEY, *January 31, 1835.*

DEAR RUSSELL,—I am sorry to find that we are likely to be at issue on the very first day

¹ Afterwards Earl of Derby and Conservative Prime Minister. See Appendix.

of the meeting of Parliament, for though you say you do not expect me to tell you what line I mean to take, I think it only fair to say that I cannot support Abercromby, whose nomination, indeed, has a good deal surprised me. What may be the case to be made against Manners Sutton I have no means of knowing, but I think it must be a very strong one to justify his rejection.

Ever sincerely yours,

STANLEY.

(198) *Grey to Melbourne.*

HOWICK, *February 1, 1835.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I have been prevented, by an absence from hence on a visit, from returning an earlier answer to your letter of the 23rd of the last month. There was nothing, however, that made an immediate reply of material consequence.

The questions which you propose for my consideration are very difficult. Upon the circumstances in which they are founded, as they result from the present state of public opinion, of measures and of men, I generally agree with you. The result of the elections seems to me to prove undeniably that the feeling of the country is decidedly in favour of the principle of Reform; in other words, of the principles on which we acted. The necessity under which Sir Robert Peel and his adherents have found themselves compelled, to a certain degree, at

least, to profess an acquiescence in these principles, would be a decisive proof of this, were there no other. Here, then, I think, we have a satisfactory ground for deciding in the first place (I say we, for I still continue to consider myself as one of you, though no longer an active associate), that our conduct out of Government should be the same as it was in office ; to work out the necessary reforms, which the state of our institutions may require, upon safe and moderate principles ; in accordance with the constitution of our mixed Government and with the spirit of the age.

On the measures which would be required for this purpose, I think with you that there would be little difficulty, except, perhaps, with respect to the Irish Church. I doubt very much as to the way in which any proposition upon this question, if it comes to be made a subject of Party contest may be taken by the Public, and I should be sorry to see an occasion for a direct breach with Stanley, to whom I think you must look as a necessary card in the formation of an administration. I should, therefore, strongly advise against a premature discussion of this very embarrassing matter ; there would be a great advantage in waiting for the measures which the Ministers must propose when they open it ; and for this I think you have sufficient ground in the appointment of the Commission, whose report ought to be received before any decision is taken.

Then comes the last and greatest difficulty with respect to men. I do not wonder at your positive exclusions, nor am I much disposed to dissent from them, except that positive exclusions, with a view to future events, of which one cannot beforehand calculate the exigencies, are never prudent, and seldom possible to be adhered to. The chief embarrassment seems to me to be this. You cannot abstain from taking an active part in the discussions which the late events must produce. To you and to Lord Spencer, a powerful party, who have great claims upon you, and whom it would be a public misfortune to see disunited and dissolved, will naturally look for assistance and advice. In concerting the measures to be taken, how can you reject, from merely personal reasons, which it is difficult to assign, the co-operation of a person like Brougham, who was intimately connected with you in office, who professes the same principles, and who, whatever may be the justice of the censure which he has so generally incurred, will, immediately after the meeting of Parliament, by his extraordinary activity and talents, again attract the attention, and not improbably conciliate the favour of a great portion of the Public?

His case is quite different from that of O'Connell and Lambton. They are both to be considered as Radicals, with whom I must regard our difference as no less decided, and ought to be as strongly marked, as with the

Tories. Here, then, is a difference of principle at once justifying a refusal to co-operate. But Brougham has lately, at least (how long, however, he may continue, I will not pretend to say, in opposition probably not long), professed moderate opinions, in consonance with ours. Acknowledging, therefore, the objections which you state, it seems to me very difficult to keep clear of him, and that it is hardly possible to go on either with him or without him.

What, then, is to be done? Leaving this difficulty, in a great degree to time for its solution, and avoiding, as far as possible, both an open quarrel and too intimate a connection with him, I should say that the best way would be for you to consult with Lansdowne, Spencer, John Russell, Holland, and such others of your late colleagues, as inspire you with the greatest confidence, upon the course proper to be taken at the commencement of the Session ; and having defined it, to trust to the support which it may receive from those who concur with you in principle and opinion. With respect to the particular measures which should be taken for this purpose, I am too far removed from the scene of active Politicks, and have too little communication with others, to give a decided or satisfactory opinion. But my plan, if I were still to take a lead, would be to bring forward no direct question, unless something in the address, to which I could not assent, forced me to an amendment, till the views of Ministers

were fully developed. I therefore entirely disapprove of the intention which I see publicly announced, of opposing the choice of Sutton as Speaker, or of bringing in any direct question, on which I have little doubt there would be a Majority for the Ministers, which would help them very much for the remainder of the Session. Your want of confidence in them, your vindication of the late Government, and your views for the future, might all be gone into in a discussion on the address. This would leave everything open, would pledge nobody against you, and would, which I think of the greatest importance, avoid the risk of driving Stanley to a support of the Ministers on a particular question, which might facilitate a future agreement with them, and cut off in the same degree all hope of co-operation with you. In this way I think you would have a good game. The Ministers are pledged to some measures of Reform. If they are such as to satisfy public expectations, a division amongst themselves, or at least amongst some of their supporters is, I think, inevitable, and they are too weak to bear any defection. If they fall short of what is reasonably demanded, their immediate defeat in the House of Commons is equally certain. And then there might arise the possibility of a junction with Stanley and others, which might enable you to form an administration, standing equally clear of the extremes of both Parties—All this is very unsatisfactory and very long,

but I am not able to render it clearer or shorter—I shall not move till quite the end of this month, or the beginning of the next.

Ever yours,

GREY.

(199) *Russell to Melbourne.*

February 9, 1835.

I am very glad to find that Lord Grey recommends, with respect to Brougham, so cautious and conciliatory a course. His merits are great and conspicuous,—his demerits vexatious but not vital. My opinion respecting an administrative office may be wrong; but at all events it would be premature to settle it now. I am quite satisfied that you should act on Lord Grey's advice at present.

What Lord Grey says of other matters is, I think, said in ignorance of the temper of the Commons, of the Country, nay, of the Tories likewise; for depend upon it, they will agree well enough in their little schemes of Reform, and if any of them are defeated they will only rejoice and say We [the Opposition] are impracticable. . . . Althorp is of opinion that we cannot avoid an amendment. . . . This is my view, but I think the more cautiously worded the better. . . . I have sent wire to Lansdowne, who will infuse a few more drops of wisdom into it. . . . The division will be very close.

(200) *Russell to Melbourne.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

QUEEN STREET, *February 11, 1835.*

. . . I sent my draft to Lord Lansdowne, who approves. I send you his letter. . . . Lord Grey's letter raises an ulterior question. He evidently looks to the formation of a Liberal Government again disunited on the question [the Irish Church] and agreeing to postpone it. If such a government can be made I should be ready, if Lord Grey or you sanctioned it by taking the chief post, to give it what support I could. But I would take no share in it. . . .

Abercromby's prospects are very good. . . .

(201) *Melbourne to Russell.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

BROCKET HALL, *February 12, 1835.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I send you Lord Lansdowne's letter. I wish you would by to-morrow night's post send me a copy of your proposed amendment. When I read it cursorily, it appeared to me not in a Parliamentary style and to advert to too many interests. An Amendment should never present to the observing a very wide field for observation. I do not think it necessary to send Grey's letter to Lansdowne, as I understand from the latter that Grey has written to him precisely to the same effect. I

will certainly be up on Sunday evening and shall be glad if you will come as you propose on Monday. Lansdowne tells me that Grey has postponed coming up until after Easter. This will be counted and will, in fact, be a clear and unequivocal mark of disapprobation of our Meetings, supposing active hostility is decided upon. I should think it very inadvisable to have any Meeting until after the 28th. We can all agree upon that question. Let us all get into the field together upon it, and subsequent agreement will be more probable. The question of a Meeting afterwards will very much depend upon the probability that exists of avoiding difference of opinion.

You are quite right to be explicit about the Irish Church, that in general nobody is so much for shuffling over differences of opinion and getting over matters as well as one can, as I am. I was always exhorting the different sections of Grey's Government to this course, which was very often followed. But this is really an important moment, and a great start, and it is nonsense now not to understand one another at least upon matters so important and so urgent. Would you be satisfied with Duncannon's bill for the present and with leaving future measures to future discussion and consideration?

Another matter strikes me. What will you say if Peel addresses you in the House of Commons thus, as, if I were in his place I certainly should address: "The Noble Lord

complains of the King for dismissing the late Government—I will bring that matter to the very short issue. If the Noble Lord is sent for to-morrow is he prepared to advise the re-establishment of that Government—is he prepared to place the Great Seal again in the hands of the late Ld. Chancellor and the Seals of the Ways Department in those of the late Secretary of State?" You can give no satisfactory answer to this but by pledging yourself to do so. If you get off in any way, he immediately says was the King so wrong in dissolving an administration of which its own Members are not prepared to advise the re-establishment?

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

(202) *Daniel O'Connell to Russell.*

DUBLIN, *February 13, 1835.*

MY LORD,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your circular on the subject of the Speaker and the accompanying Private note. I have transmitted the letter to most of the Irish Members. I reckon with a good deal of confidence on sixty-two Irish Members on the vote for Mr. Abercromby. I should think there *can not* be less than sixty at the very lowest.

I enter very cordially into the views which I understand are entertained by your Lordship for the ensuing campaign. I think I may venture to promise that the Irish Members of the popular party will avoid all topics on which they may

differ with you and your friends *until the Tories are routed*, and that you will find us perfectly ready to co-operate in any place which your Friends may deem most advisable to effect that purpose. In short, we *will be* steady allies without any mutiny in your camp. Indeed, this after all is pure selfishness because we see clearly that if the present administration remain in office, a civil war with all the Horrors of religious—I should say—sectarian rancour must be the inevitable consequence. They are already letting slip the sanguinary Orange gang. Who shall succeed Orangeite or Catholic is not of much importance, but my opinion certainly is that the Catholic Party will triumph, but triumph amidst the desolation of the Country, and its ultimate loss to British Connexion. We Irish are, therefore, directly and personally interested in the Defeat of the present Ministry. I know Ireland well and am convinced the views of the Catholics in part of one Province and of the Protestants in the residue of the Island depend upon such a change of men as shall insure the repression in the place of the excitement and encouragement of the Orange faction. They will if they come to blows be defeated—with more facility than you may imagine—but what a horrible alternative—submission to insult, injustice, and murder on the one hand—or “*Bellum plus quam Civile*” on the other. And yet in sober sadness I do say that upon this alternative the present Government fling Ireland.

I leave here with my family to-morrow early by Holyhead so as to be in London by the 17th without fail. I hope to assist in mustering a large Irish force in St. James's Square on Wednesday.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your very obedient and humble,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

(203) *Russell to Melbourne.*

February 13, 1835.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I have copied my amendment and entirely left out the last paragraph to which Lansdowne objected. . . .

I am very glad you approve of my "speaking out" on the Irish Church question. . . . The "doubtfuls" on the Speakership have nearly all declared. . . . It is a very pretty race. . . .

Yrs. ever,

J. R.

Draft Amendment to the Address: That your Majesty's faithful Commons have seen with great satisfaction your Majesty's declaration that to correct abuses and improve the condition of your people is the first wish of your heart. . . . That we therefore trust that your Majesty's Councils will be directed in the spirit of temperate but effective reform, and that the same liberal and comprehensive views which restored to the people

their undoubted right of chusing their own representatives, and prompted the emancipation of all persons held in the bonds of slavery in your Majesty's colonies and possessions abroad, will place our Municipal Corporations under vigilant popular control, afford a final remedy to the evils belonging to the tithe system, and purge the Church of England and Ireland of those abuses which offend the best friends of religion, disturb the peace of society, and are incompatible with the welfare of the State.

(204) *Russell to Melbourne.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

QUEEN STREET, *February 17, 1835.*

MY DEAR LORD,—After the conversations we have had together on the subject of Lord Brougham I trust you will excuse my troubling you with this letter.

Lord Brougham's conduct last year excited general animadversion. There were not several opinions upon it, but only one opinion. After the dissolution of the ministry he went abroad. It appeared to me to be inexpedient to send letters after him to Marseilles, or Nice, but I expected after his return to have a fair and friendly but clear and undisguised explanation with him upon the whole case. I intended this because although I thought him much to blame I thought (and had expressed my opinion to my intimate friends) that he had never entertained

any deliberate design of injuring the Ministry, the party or individuals, and that his great and splendid services outshone and effaced the most conspicuous of his errors.

From this explanation he has shrunk. What course he may intend to take it is not for me to ask, but whatever mischiefs may arise from it, to the public, to the party with whom he has acted uninterruptedly for many years, or to himself, your Lordship will see that I have no share in the responsibility to be incurred. It only remains for me to thank your Lordship for your kind and judicious conduct on this occasion. I remain,

Ever yours faithfully,

J. RUSSELL.

(205) *William Russell, senior, to Russell.*

[LINC. INN FIELDS?] *Thursday night.*
February 19, 1835.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have just read with very unmixed satisfaction the debate of this evening upon the Choice of the Speaker. I hardly know whether my opinion can be of any value to you upon such a matter, but I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of the very statesman-like manner in which you seem to have conducted this difficult and most important affair.

Yours aff.,

WM. RUSSELL.

Amidst my other aspirations for the good of

the cause, I cannot help expressing my anxiety that the very great advantage you obtained over Ld. Stanley in to-night's debates may not lead to anything like a general political discord between you and him.

(206)

The following draft of a letter to O'Connell represents the attitude adopted towards him and by him.

QUEEN STREET, *February 20, 1835.*

SIR,—I am much obliged to you for your letter from Dublin on the — inst.

I know not what may have been the communications made to you of my views for the ensuing campaign, but I am ready to acknowledge that the declaration of your intention to avoid all topics of difference and to co-operate generally until the Tory Ministers are defeated, is very frank and explicit.

Acting in the same spirit, I think it necessary to explain that while I do not ask you to give up any of your opinions on public questions, you will of course understand that I do not renounce any of mine.

You say that not only the ultimate safety, but the immediate tranquillity of Ireland depends upon such a change of men as shall assure a change of the policy now pursued in that Country. I am convinced that it is as necessary, although not so urgent for England, to remove

from power Ministers, who do not profess, and as I believe, never can obtain the confidence of the Country.

(207) *Spencer to Russell.*

February 21, 1835.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I wish you joy of such a brilliant commencement to your Leadership. I hope you will go on in the same way, and I think you cannot but do so as long as the Ministry remains in. When it goes out I do not know what to say, for that will weaken you very much.

Yours most truly,
SPENCER.

(208) *Palmerston to Russell.*

BROADLANDS, February 22, 1835.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I congratulate you heartily on your victory the other day. Persevere and prosper. Now is the time to push on your advantage and to carry as an amendment a vote affirming want of confidence in the Government. I am coming to town to-morrow to be present as a spectator of your Waterloo on Tuesday.

Yours sincerely,
PALMERSTON.

(209) *Grey to Russell.*

HOWICK, February 23, 1835.

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—I have this moment received your letter. I can easily conceive that

in many cases my views of what expediency requires, might be modified or altered if I was on the spot. But there is one point on which my opinion and my resolution can admit of no change. I have already stated to you and others that nothing could induce me to be a Party to anything like concert or communication with O'Connell and the Radicals. After the strong opinions which I have expressed upon this subject, and the measures taken, whilst I was in the Government upon them, I could not conscientiously, or without loss of credit, depart from this determination. Though I agree with you, therefore, as to the propriety, I should rather say the duty, of acting upon the principles which you always professed, and not rejecting the support of those who are willing to assist you in measures prescribed by those principles, I could not read without the deepest regret, I might say with absolute dismay, the account of your having written to O'Connell, Hume, etc., to attend the meeting on the question of the Speakership. The view taken by Howick of this proceeding I entirely approve, and though his motive for attending the meeting was such as I cannot condemn, I should have been better satisfied if he had adhered to his first resolution of staying away. That he will do so, if unhappily any future meeting of a similar description should take place, I will not allow myself to doubt.

Having said this I willingly turn to a more

agreeable topick, and I am sure you will give me credit for the sincere pleasure which I received from the accounts, sent to me from all quarters, of the success of your Speech. Be assured there does not exist a more sincere well-wisher to your fame and happiness than myself. As I read Stanley's speech I really think it is treated with more severity than it deserved. He cannot maintain an adverse argument, without parting his adversaries sharply both in reasoning and in manner. It would be well if he could correct a fault equally prejudicial to his own influence, and to the publick interest as far as it is involved in the assistance which it is in his power to afford. But I am sure all those who look to the means of extricating the Country from the present state of confusion, ought to endeavour to conciliate him and not to widen the breach, which I much fear some are disposed to do from motives which I need not describe. I was very glad to hear, therefore, from Howick, that he had seen him; that he found him disposed to communicate freely and cordially on the present state of politicks, and expressing himself as anxious to be united with his old friends.

Wood sent me a statement of what he understood to be the substance of the proposed amendment. Admitting an amendment to be expedient or necessary, there is nothing in what has been suggested, in which I do not concur. After a victory on a field of battle which appeared to be



most disadvantageous, I suppose there can be little doubt of a majority on the address also.

Ever, dear Lord John,

Yours most sincerely,

GREY.

Your letter being dated ye 20th ought to have come yesterday, but did not arrive till this morning.

(210) *William Russell to Russell.*

March 6, 1835.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have watched your opening career with intense anxiety on your own account as well as on my poor Country's, and I now breathe freely. I am at ease, at least as far as you are concerned. Your speech on the choice of a Speaker quite reconciled me to the line you took, and quite convinced me (which I thought at the time) that you ought to have superseded Mr. Sutton when you took office. Your speech on the address is also excellent—your exposition of a Tory conscience was well done—your justification of the late Ministry and defence of your own principles admirable. There was no soreness, no cavilling, no loose statement like in Devonshire—no peevishness, no pettishness like in Brougham's speech—all was calm, dignified, and statesmanlike. This is as it should be, this is the way to lead a powerful opposition that has the fate of the Nation in its hands—the fogs that surrounded you have cleared away—and though

your path is still beset with holes you can see to avoid them. You have now but to go straight like a ball from a cannon, and if an obstacle presents itself go against it, you need not turn one inch out of your way. Your principles are avowed and clear as the sun at noon day. Of our leading statesmen you alone are intelligible. Peel has left his high ground to skirmish in the plains, with a pack of mercenaries who will betray him—Stanley and Graham have one eye on the hills the other on the plain, and are undecided where and how to fight, but you have steadily kept the plains, with a stout band rallied round you. You have no occasion to use tricks or finesse or faction—the first are not in your nature, but the last has its charm in your eyes—it would now, however, be your ruin. Enforce your principles and opinions to the utmost, regardless of the support they will receive, and fearlessly and calmly wait the result. You cannot go wrong, you cannot fall, you cannot even stumble. I must, however, make one little criticism—your amendment was rather too much of the old Tierney School, and Peel cut it up cleverly. The issue of the fight must be, as I said, in the Irish Church—and your manly, frank declaration of your opinion does you honor. Go on, my dear John, in the same line, and save your Country.

We are well and join in love.

Aff. yours,

WM. R.

(211) *Grey to Russell.*

WOBURN ABBEY, *March 11, 1835.*

DEAR LORD JOHN,—I have received your letter, and am not at all surprised at hearing that many of our best friends feel “the same objections and alarms” that I expressed on the subject of Mr. Hume’s motion. I should, indeed, have been very much surprised if it had been otherwise.

After you went I wrote to Howick expressing very fully my feelings upon this matter. They are so strong that if I were in the House of Commons I should certainly both speak and vote against the motion; and in doing so I am persuaded I should do more to unite the Party on sound Whig principles, than by acquiescing in a measure to which there are so many objections. From what you say I trust it will be decided to give it no countenance or support, and if I were to advise, it would be not to substitute any other motion for it, of a similar tendency. The case of 1784 is so very different, that it affords no precedent; and the result of the proceedings of that period was not such as to encourage a repetition of them.

If by a meeting “including all shades of opposition” you mean one to which Hume, O’Connell, etc., are again to be invited, I can only repeat my former opinions, which remain entirely unchanged. I know the bad impression which the former meeting produced, and I shall be

much vexed if Howick is induced to attend one of a similar description.

The opinion I expressed with respect to the present administration may have "astonished" you; but it is the only one, which such lights, as I possess, have enabled me to form. If you try the experiment I expect you will find that it is not quite so foolish as you seem now to think it. But you do not state it quite fairly. I have never said anything that could be inferred as expressing an opinion that the present Ministry, of the composition and character of which I may think as you do, "is the best this great country can produce." There are certainly existing those who might compose a much better—probably one as good as this Country ever saw. But in the present state of Parties, can they be brought together? I exclude all consideration of an intermixture of Radicals as altogether inadmissible. The Whig Party, if such a Party still exists, is much too weak to support itself against the two Bodies which would hang on both its flanks, in the House of Commons; and I should deceive you if I were to express a belief that the restoration of the late Government would have the confidence of the Country. Till circumstances, therefore, shall render possible some junction of those who are now separated, I must repeat my opinion that the sudden overthrow of the present administration would not diminish our difficulties. This opinion may again incur your censure, but I believe, as in the case of the

supplies, that you will find many of our best friends concurring in it.

Ever yours,
GREY.

(212) *William Russell to Russell.*

[STUTTGART?], *March 12, 1835.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—As I am desired to send a letter for your housekeeper, I must add a line to say how delighted I am with your public proceedings. You are taking the true line, if your colleagues in office had acted so, they never could have been turned out. You are quite right about the Irish Church, and you have a good argument in the conduct of every Protestant European Hall which has set us the example (to our shame) of providing religious instruction and comfort for the Catholic population. In this Country it is beautiful to see the harmony in which the Pros. and Caths. live together. Continue your noble course and you will redeem the character of the Whigs.

Ever affectionately yours,
WM. R.

(213) *Lord Wellesley¹ to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

CLARENDON HOTEL, *April 5, 1835.*

MY DEAR LORD,—I send you an extract from a letter which I received yesterday from Mr.

¹ See note in Appendix.

Blake ; perhaps it may furnish some useful suggestions in the present moment.

Allow me to congratulate you on the success of your most judicious and skilful management, of which I trust the country will soon reap the benefit, in the demolition of our miserable enemies.

Always, my dear Lord,

Yours sincerely,

WELLESLEY.

(214) *Mr. Charles Gore¹ to Russell.*

MOUNT STREET, *Wednesday night, April 8, 1835.*

MY DEAR LORD,—Your victory has been as brilliant as has been your skill in fighting it. Long may you enjoy the vantage ground.

Well and truly did Lord Wellesley say to me on Sunday: "Lord John's conduct as Leader has been admirable, and he has shewn himself more than equal to so difficult a task. He possesses all the temper and tact of Lord Althorp with 10,000 times his eloquence and power."

Wishing you, my dear Lord, most cordially and sincerely every happiness and prosperity,

Believe me always,

Yours most faithfully, etc.,

CHAS. A. GORE.

¹ Later a Commissioner of Woods and Forests. Father of the present Bishop of Oxford.

(215) *Memorandum to Grey.*

LANSDOWNE HOUSE, April 11, 1835.

Having well considered the state of Parties and the circumstances of the Country, we are decidedly of opinion that no administration which will command public confidence or give any promise of stability, can be formed without uniting every element of strength which the present state of parties and opinions admits of combining, and most of all we think it desirable that you should be induced to give your active support and assistance in office. We submit to give this as our deliberate judgment and earnestly entreat you to give it your most serious consideration. It would naturally be our wish that you should place yourself at the head of the Treasury, but if you should for any reason be desirous of declining that situation, we trust that you will not refuse to fill the post of Secretary of State for foreign affairs, which will secure to the Nation the benefit of your abilities and experience, and to your Colleagues the protection and encouragement of your countenance and authority. Lord John Russell has not been informed of our intention to make this communication, but we feel no doubt whatever of his entire concurrence in it. We have not thought it expedient to incur any delay, by inviting the agreement of others, but we are confident that it would be cordially and universally given.

(Signed) MELBOURNE, LANSDOWNE, VASSALL
HOLLAND, PALMERSTON, S. S. RICE.

(216) *Melbourne to Russell.**April 12, 1835.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—Lord Grey entirely declines taking any part, and the King considers me as employed in making arrangements. I am sorry for it, but you must see the necessity of your immediately coming to London. There is much that must be decided without further delay. The questions of Brougham and Palmerston are of the utmost importance, fully as much as any questions of principle can be. Pray do not delay.

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

(217) *William Russell to Russell.**April 24, 1835.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—Whatever you do, let me beg of you not to ask Palmerston for anything for me neither directly, nor indirectly, don't even name me to him. He has his own corps of favourites to which I don't aspire to belong—nor have I “ nous ” enough to comprehend his policy—nor have I activity enough to meddle as much as he likes—so, as a favour, I entreat of you not even to name me to him. I don't want money, I don't want diplomatic rank, nor diplomatic honors, and am very well here until my services are necessary elsewhere; then employ me where and how you please. You are more useful to Ireland where you are, otherwise I should have been glad to have seen you at

the For. Office, and I would have given you some hints as to our diplomacy that would have put it on a more useful and respectable footing. On the Continent the Conservatives look upon you as a most dangerous and detestable Democrat, but they would have preferred you to Palmerston, who gives them all the stomach-ache. You have no time to read more, so good-bye, and God bless you and aid you in the great and glorious work you have undertaken. Give my love to your wife. . . .

Affectionately yours,

G. W. R.

I think you ought to pay the Catholic Priests—Ireland will never be quiet till you do. See a pamphlet called: “On National Property and the prospects of the present administrators and their successors,” 1835, 3rd edition.

(218) *Mr. G. P. Livens to Russell.*

COMMITTEE ROOM, BEDFORD, *April 28, 1835.*

MY LORD,—I have much pleasure in conveying to your Lordship the sentiments of a large portion of the inhabitants of the Town and Borough of Bedford, who met yesterday for the purpose of testifying the respect and admiration they entertain for the distinguished services your Lordship has rendered to the Country, by so ably advocating the principles and measures on which we conceive the stability and main-

tenance of the Public Institutions of the Nation mainly depend. . . .

GEO. P. LIVENS.

(219) *Lord John Russell's Draft of a Bill on Corporation Reform; Provisions.*

(These notes refer to the Bill which he had been preparing, which he introduced in May, and finally carried, after a struggle with the Lords, in June, 1835.)

1. A clause to declare that with respect to the boroughs mentioned in Schedules A, B, and C, this Act shall supersede all Charters, so far as they may be inconsistent with the provisions of this Act.

2. Provides that each Municipal Borough shall be governed by a Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, with a Town Clerk and Treasurer. The number of Aldermen for each borough in Schedule A to be , in Schedule B to be , in Schedule C to be .

3. All persons on the register of electors as ten pound householders to vote for Common Council, and to be styled burgesses.

4. The Common Council to be elected for three years. One third to go out annually.

5. Towns of which the population exceeds 20,000 to be divided into wards. One ward for every burgesses.

6. The Aldermen to be chosen by the bur-

gesses out of the Common Council. No pecuniary qualification necessary.

7. Aldermen and Common Council to be resident. Bankruptcy to vacate.

8. Aldermen to be elected for 5 years, and to be immediately re-eligible.

9. The Mayor to be chosen by the Common Council out of the Aldermen.

10. The Mayor to serve one year.

11. The Mayor and Aldermen not to exercise Magisterial powers without the sanction of the Great Seal.

12. In each Borough in Schedules A (and (B q^y) a Recorder to be appointed by the Crown for life.

13. Town Clerks to be elected for 5 years by Common Council. Treasurer the same.

14. The property of the Corporation to be managed by Aldermen chosen by Common Council. Accounts to be published yearly, and new expenditure to be sanctioned by Common Council.

15. Administration of Charities subject to control of Common Council.

16. The City and Borough Quarter Sessions to be maintained. Crown to have power to order Sessions more frequently.

17. A court of Record in every borough for the trial of civil Actions.

18. The Mayor and Aldermen to appoint Constables q^y.

19. Lighting and Paving Boards not under

existing corporations to continue till altered or superseded by Act of Parliament.

20. Gaols not to be altered by this Act.

21. The parliamentary boundaries to be taken as the limits of the Corporation, unless the Crown should issue a Commission to fix boundaries.

22. Freemen to have no voice as such in choosing Common Council, Aldermen, or Mayor. But all pecuniary privileges of right of Common, &c., to be retained during life.

23. Corporation property to be strictly applied to municipal purposes.

24. Monopolies of trade, handicraft, &c., to be abolished.

25. Exemption from tolls to be extended to all householders resident within the town. Deficiency arising from want of such tolls to be made up by a general vote, imposed by Common Council.

26. Persons to be compelled to serve corporate Offices under a fine.

27. Cities and towns that are Counties of themselves to retain that distinction.

Schedule A to contain municipal boroughs of 20,000 inh. and upwards.

Schedule B of 10,000 and under 20,000.

Schedule C of 5,000 and under 10,000.

Mem. Towns of less than 5,000 inh. within certain limits might be left to another Session.

J. R.

(220) *Russell to Moore.*

WHITEHALL, May 15, 1835.

MY DEAR MOORE,—I send you Melbourne's reply to my note inclosing yours. His reasons for preferring the father to the children are perhaps good, at all events I believe him to be thoroughly impressed with them, as he urged the same thing to me in conversation.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

J. RUSSELL.

(221) *Bedford to Russell.*

May 19, 1835.

MY DEAR JOHN,—When you receive this, you will be again an M.P. and prepared to enter on the very arduous task of leading the House of Commons in this most arduous crisis. God grant that your health and strength may be equal to the task; . . . preserve the equanimity of temper which distinguished you through the early part of the session, and by which you gained *golden opinions*. . . . Above all take care and be what Goldsmith said somewhat sneeringly of Burke "too fond of the *right* to pursue the *expedient*." Mr. Fox's maxim was to say *strong things* but not in strong language. . . .

Your affte. Father,

B.

On July 26, 1835, the King wrote to Russell highly disapproving of the Reduction of the Militia Staff, on August 13th and 14th he expressed his surprise at the second reading of the Irish Corporation Bill without its having been submitted to him, on September 1st and 3rd highly approving of the Government's course on the Lord's amendments, and Sept. 8th highly satisfied at the tact and address shown in the concluding of the Corporation Bill, on Oct. 19th highly approving of his actions in regard to Tithe Collection, &c., in Ireland, and of his answer to the Plymouth Deputation; expressing also his antipathy to Brougham's proceedings; on Oct. 23rd protesting against Lord Mulgrave's invitation to O'Connell to dine at Viceregal Lodge; Russell replied to the King giving his opinion that Mulgrave's explanation was satisfactory, and stating his views on the subject. On Sept. 28th Sir Herbert Taylor was directed to express the King's strong objection to the appointment of Brougham to be Chairman of the Commission on Educational Endowments; he "dreaded the subversive principles which were being taught to the rising generation." On Sept. 30th Russell wrote a long letter justifying to the King this appointment, showing that the Commission was to inquire into and not to direct the distribution of charitable funds for education, that Brougham's hasty words were mostly not to be taken as more than the feeling of the moment, and that in his distribution of patron-

age he was supposed to lean too much to the adversaries of the Radicals, who had on that account objected to the proposal to confer upon him the Great Seal. As regards the House of Lords, Russell defended it as a part of the Constitution, though not meaning "to exclude the possibility of an inquiry" at some future time.

(222) *Russell to the Earl of Mulgrave.*

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.

WILTON CRESCENT, May 27, 1835.

MY DEAR MULGRAVE,—I have submitted your letter and Papers to the Cabinet, and after considering the matter very carefully, they agree in the following Propositions.

1st. That no Military Force should be granted without making an Application to the Castle in every instance.

2nd. That it should be made clear, both to the Officer in command of the Troops, and the persons claiming Tithe, that Military Force is given not to aid "in the Collection of Tithe," as the Lieutenant General Commanding has expressed it, but, in the words of Mr. Attorney General Blackburn's circular, because "some specific acts of forcible resistance" have been proved, and because "*the public Peace will certainly be disturbed*, if some extraordinary

means are not resorted to for the *protection of the men* employed (by the Tithe owner) in collecting Tithes legally due."

3rd. An application having been made to the Castle, and the Lord Lieutenant being satisfied that a serious risk of life will be incurred, or that the public peace will certainly be disturbed in the process of collecting Tithes legally due, Military assistance may be specially granted. But the Troops are not to be used for the purpose of collecting Tithe, nor are they to be kept on the ground when no legal collection is going on. For instance, if it be Law that Cattle cannot be distrained during the night, the Troops must be withdrawn from Sunset to Sunrise. Nor are they to be continued when no Breach of the peace is imminent, and their presence in the field, while it harasses them, is not necessary for the preservation of the Peace.

4th. You cannot advise the Tithe owner to forego or suspend his Claim. But your own Opinion of the expediency of granting Military aid in preserving the Peace may be affected by the circumstance that the whole matter is under the consideration of the Legislature. You must, of course, never positively decline assistance in preserving the Authority of Law, but you may with propriety suspend your decision for a time.

I remain,

&c., &c., &c.,

J. RUSSELL.

(223) *The King to Russell.*WINDSOR CASTLE, *June 14, 1835.*

The King has received Lord John Russell's letter of yesterday and the accompanying Report of the Inspections made of the Militia Staffs in the United Kingdom, and His Majesty has to notice, with extreme concern, the state of unfitness and inefficiency in which, with some honorable exceptions, they are shewn to be.

It would be useless to attempt now to trace the causes of the decay into which this Establishment has fallen or the neglect and the improvidence to which it may be attributable, but although His Majesty is willing to admit that it would be worse than useless to maintain the Staffs in general, in their present state and that the continued expense to the Country of an Establishment so constituted could not be justified, it is impossible that His Majesty should contemplate otherwise than with doubt, hesitation, and apprehension a proposal for breaking up altogether, and without any substitution, the frame work and foundation of that great Constitutional Force of the Country to which it may be necessary to have recourse in periods of National emergency, and His Majesty does not deny that, although he had anticipated from the enquiry which has taken place and of which he had himself repeatedly urged the necessity, an arrangement for remodelling and improving this Establishment, he was not prepared for a pro-

posals which appears to him to exclude all provision connected with the maintenance and the assembly of the Militia of the Country.

This, nevertheless, appears to the King a very serious object and one which ought not to escape the consideration of His Government, in the prosecution of Reforms which the correction of abuses and the introduction of economy may justify, and although he approves of both and is prepared to sanction any reasonable Plan for the extension of the important and valuable Police Establishment, he trusts that means will be found and measures will be suggested for the constitution of a basis which may facilitate the assembly and the formation of the Militia of the several Counties, wherever its services may be required.

Upon this subject, as well as with respect to the Plan to which Lord John Russell has attended, the King will be glad to communicate personally with him on Wednesday, the 24th inst., and in the mean time His Majesty states what has occurred to him, as the most simple Plan towards keeping up the Militia, without entailing the necessity of a distinct permanent Establishment and its consequent charge.

His Majesty would propose that the Ballots should take place as usual, and that the numbers should be enrolled and kept complete. But they should be embodied and mustered one day in the year at convenient periods, and in proportions suited to the districts in which they may

be conveniently assembled, and that Officers of the Line and Sergeants from contiguous, or the least remote stations, should be employed to inspect them, and that men should transmit reports to the Secretary of State. As the only object would be to ascertain the existence and the general efficiency of the new balloted and returned for service in the Militia, the Musters and Inspections might be made by competent Officers of *any* Rank, whether on full pay, detached from Regiments for that Duty, on half pay residing in the districts, or by those who may be employed in the Recruiting Service, these details being of easy arrangements, between the Civil and Military Authorities, if the general principle be introduced and established.

It appears also to the King that, in connection with such a Plan, arrangements should be made for ascertaining the number and the efficiency of Pensioners from the regular Army in each district, and for registering them as available towards the training of the Militia Regiments whenever they should be embodied.

In the estimate of the saving which may accrue from the suppression of the Militia Establishment and of the balance with the expense of the proposed addition to the Police, Lord John Russell does not appear to have taken into calculation the Pensions and Superannuations to which the present Staff will be entitled, when disbanded. Some arrangement will also be required for the due care and custody of the Arms and Clothing

which must be deposited in secure Stores at convenient stations.

WILLIAM R.

(224) *Russell to Mulgrave.*

PRIVATE.

HOME OFFICE, *June 26, 1835.*

MY DEAR MULGRAVE,—I think that the Question of Flag or no Flag having been brought under your notice, you may as well give directions that the Standard be not hoisted on occasion of any Victory gained in Civil War.

Morpeth comes on to-night. I am glad to find you proceed so quietly.

Yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

His Excellency,

The LORD LIEUTENANT.

It may perhaps be as well that you should send me a Dispatch, stating whether you think it necessary to renew the Coercion Act of last year. We are about to discuss a proposition for a permanent Bill on the plan of the Report of the Queen's County Committee.

(225) *Melbourne to Russell.*

DOWNING STREET, *July 27, 1835.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I think your letter will do very well, and I have sent it on to the King.

Yours,

MELBOURNE.

(226) *Brougham to Russell.*

YORK, Sunday.

MY DEAR DON GIOVANNI,—I have again looked at the letter and believe it must be Abercromby's to whom I shall write. I agree entirely in all you say (except as hereinafter excepted) and I am delighted to find that you take the right and good line among the mutual railings of our friends. My rule is simple, I always *oppose* whatever I hear said—if A abuses B, I defend B and vice versa. This outcry against Mac. falls quite within the rule. Pray continue to defend him to those who attack him and abuse him to *himself*, for I doubt not he well deserves it.

As for Leader, I can only say what I have said 500 and odd times for the last seven or eight years, especially for the last three, that if any wizard were to give me a wand and a cap which should make me king of the Whigs I would accept it because I or anyone else so armed could in three months change the Government and do what would be useful to the world. But if the said fairy were to offer me by *unanimous consent and authority* of the said Whigs the place of their leader in the common acceptation of the word I should beg his honour the fairy to go about his business and especially to go to Bedlam. . . .

Neither imagine that I do not see the ruin we are bringing on ourselves and on our country by rejecting all order and discipline. . . . Such a Committee as you allude to I long ago proposed

and was always anxious to see. Romilly and myself both said we should hold ourselves at its disposal. . . .

Yours ever,

H. BROUGHAM.

(227) *Melbourne to Russell.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

SOUTH STREET, *September 8, 1835.*

MY LORD,—I have to request that you will in conjunction with the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Duncannon,¹ Lord Howick² and Mr. Poulett Thomson³ undertake the consideration of Tithe in England, and the framing of a measure upon that subject for the consideration of the Cabinet.

I remain, my Lord,

Your Faithful and ob^t. serv^t.,

MELBOURNE.

(228) *Russell to Melbourne.*

ENDSLEIGH, *September 20, 1835.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I have received the enclosed letter from Brougham, which tho' friendly is threatening. I have told him I cannot commit myself or you, as to the course to be pursued with respect to the Great Seal, or

¹ Afterwards Earl of Bessborough.

² Afterwards Earl Grey.

³ Afterwards Lord Sydenham, Governor of Canada.

any judicial office. I imagine he will decline the Commission.

Since I saw you I have thought over the arrangement you mention'd, and I see the strongest objections to it. I fear both offices will be ill filled, and this quite independent of mortifying Brougham, which is an evil.

The accounts of the state of this country, and Ireland are generally very good. I have some hopes that we may hit on a plan for the Irish Church which the Tories will agree to.

Yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

(229) *Lansdowne to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

LANSDOWNE HOUSE,
Wednesday Night [September (?)], 1835.

MY DEAR J. RUSSELL,—Many thanks for M's letters—they have certainly as little of a publick character as any letters on publick matters could have, and I am glad you mean to inculcate the practice of laying before the Government from time to time such general statements as to the prevailing condition and opinions of the country, as I think should be expected from every Lord Lieutenant whilst there is one.

I should hope to hear you have got quite well in the country, and to see you soon after our

return from Ireland, where we shall remain I think till the middle of October.

Yrs. ever,

LANSDOWNE.

I conclude Minto will now have the Admiralty and there could not be a better person for it notwithstanding the unlucky little difficulty there has been.¹

(230) *Brougham to Russell.*

September 21, 1835.

[After a former long letter declining the Chairmanship of the Commission to inquire into Educational Endowments.]

PRIVATE.

MY DEAR J.,—After taking time to consider and consulting some, especially City friends, and rather in accordance with my own opinion than with theirs, I have considered that my refusing might be misconstrued into a factious feeling after the offer I made in 1818 to be at the head of the Inquiry tho' accompanied with retiring from Parliament. So that I accept the proposition. . . . I only make one condition, that I am to have nothing whatever to do with patronage. . . .

Yours sincerely,

H. B.

¹ The Earl of Minto was appointed to the Admiralty in September, 1835, and held it till 1841.

(231) *Russell to Melbourne.*

ENDSLEIGH, September 28, 1835.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I am very sorry to hear you have not been well since the session closed. I am afraid you do not take exercise enough, or eat and drink more than enough. One of the two may do, but not both together.

I have been quite set up by leaving London, and having only a moderate quantity of business, with sufficient good air.

Richmond has done what we expected. I repeat what I said before; you must have no commission; Palmerston, Hobhouse, Howick and I can settle the matter. We can consult Lord Sheffield, or anyone else. I hope Vyvyan will not object; Kempt (?) was our great stumbling block before; Vyvyan should have been told of the Commission when he took office.

Lord Hill rather alarms me by saying you mean to offer Gibraltar to Lord Anglesey, but I suppose Rice has told you the conditions. We must have *no patent office*; *no non-resident Governor*; *no exorbitant salary*. I wish for my part you would make some good arrangement, which might put the whole Mediterranean command under one Military head resident at Malta. If not offer Malta to F. Somerset, and propose F. Ponsonby as Secretary.

Ever yours,

J. R.

(232) *Russell to Melbourne.*ENDSLEIGH, *September 30, 1835.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—You will know before this that the King objects strongly to Brougham, but I hope you will be able to overcome his objections. He considers it as a Commission to *direct* education instead of an enquiry. What is it Brougham did? I have written to Taylor another long letter, which you ought to see. It must be considered that if Brougham is rejected, after having consulted his friends, we shall have “war to the knife” from him, and according to an old joke of Dudley’s “Mr. Brougham’s Monarchy Abolition Bill read a first time.”

I confess I could not have said to W. Harvey all the hard things you did, but it is as well perhaps. I do not consider his conduct in Parliament as any material objection.

I am glad you agree about the Great Seal. You may as well ascertain the point of doubt. I suppose Campbell must be Master of the Rolls in that case.

My notion is that all church patronage now in the gift of the Great Seal should go to the Prime Ministers, and that law patronage of Recorders, Magistrates &c. should be more directly in the Great Seal than it is at present. Pepys is, I believe rich, and so far would be a good new peer.

I have written a long letter to the Duke of Wellington a few days ago respecting the Militia.

I am ready to make the staff useful, but in reality my opinion is with Howick and Hardinge ; there are always about 7,000 pensioners who have been discharged within three years, and who would make excellent drill sergeants at any time.

I suppose you do not think of calling out the Militia permanently in time of peace—if so, you ought to dismiss the Yeomanry.

Yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

(233) *Melbourne to Russell.*

SOUTH STREET, *September 30, 1835*

MY DEAR JOHN,—The King accedes to Brougham, very reluctantly, saying that he does not know what he may do in any situation. . . . He only requests that the Commissioners may not be wild or violent men ; so pray tell me that there may be no name amongst them to shock him. On my part I have done a damn'd foolish thing in offering Gibraltar to Anglesey,—luckily he has refused it.

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

(234) *The Duke of Wellington to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

WALMER CASTLE, *October 1, 1835.*

MY LORD,—I have had the Honor of receiving your Lordship's Letter of the 26th September, and I assume from that you do me justice

in believing that I am disposed to give every assistance in my Power to enable you to decide upon the formation of a Peace Staff for the Militia.

Although it has not lately been deemed necessary to call out the Militia for training, and such training may not be desirable under existing circumstances, and Parliament might not be disposed at present to grant the Money to defray the expence, unless the Minister could state the periods at which he should think that the training was necessary, I cannot think it safe that the Country should be entirely deprived of the Means of using the Militia.

Without incurring a large Expense I do not see the way to keep up a Staff, which should be capable and able to organize, train, and discipline at any moment, after a long period of Peace and discontinuance of training.

Men may be disciplined as proposed to Your Lordship by General D'Albrai, but they might not, and probably would not, be fit for the performance of the Duty of Organizing, training, and disciplining the Militia. Lord Bute's plan might be useful, as well as that suggested by Your Lordship, viz., that the Colonels of the Militia should be required to select the non-commissioned officers for the Peace Staff of the Militia from among the Pensioners residing in the County if any should be found qualified. The Connection of an arrangement for the Augmentation of the Pensions of such Men in con-

sequence of their Services on the Peace Staff of the Militia would certainly be an encouragement ; and would have the additional good effect of giving a Provision to the Peace Staff of the Militia when they should be worn out.

But all these measures would have the effect only of giving to the Publick the Services of Men to be non-commissioned officers of Militia who should be in some degree disciplined. Still, whenever the Militia should be called out to be trained whether for eventual Service, or even for the Annual Month's training and discipline supposing that Measure to be again resorted to, the Government and the Staff of the Army, and the Army itself must give all the Assistance that can be afforded in order to discipline and render efficient as Military Bodies the several Corps of Militia. Where this Emergency shall occur, it is more than probable that the best Peace Staff that can be formed by the adoption of any or of all the Measures that have been proposed will not be found very efficient.

But it does not follow that because it would be difficult to keep up an Efficient Peace Staff without incurring a large Expence, such a one might not be formed at a reasonable expence which should be capable of performing the Essential Services of Organization preparatory to Discipline.

The Militia is the only force in this Country regularly organized by Law, and it is its first

Corps de Reserve. The Government might find itself placed in very disadvantageous Circumstances if it had no Organized force in Reserve ; or if possessing the power of calling out such a force to the amount of from 50 to 70 thousand Men, of which the Militia of the United Kingdom consists, it had not the Means of organizing even one Battallion.

It is to the formation and Organization of the Battallions that I would limit the attention of the Peace Staff of the militia in the first instance under present Circumstances. They should be charged with the Care of the Arms Cloathing and Accoutrements of their several Companies. If the Militia having been balloted for should have been embodied, each of the Staff should have a Roll of His Company, should know as nearly as possible where each Militia Man resides, and should occasionally communicate with him. The non-commissioned Officers or the Staff should understand the whole system of keeping the Accounts of the Soldiers.

By the aid of such Men the Battalions would be immediately organized into Companies ; Cloathed, armed, and accoutred ; the first rudiments of Military Discipline might be taught till the larger arrangements above adverted to for disciplining could be adopted by the Government and the Military Authorities of the County.

The Qualities thus required for a non-commissioned Officer on the Peace Staff of the Militia

would be habits of Sobriety and Care ; the knowledge of Reading, writing, and accounts ; and with a knowledge of the system of a Regiment as to enable him to teach the Militia Men brought in from the Country how to take care of themselves, of their Arms, Accoutrements, and Cloathing. Days and weeks will be gained by the Services of such a Staff even in the more showy and essential points of teaching the Militia Men the use of their Arms, and how to move with order and precision.

I confess, therefore, that if the old non-commissioned Officers of the Militia are not worn out by use or disabled by Drink, I should prefer them for these Services to others more capable and efficient at the Drill.

In respect to the Numbers of the Peace Staff for the Militia, I should think that there ought not to be less than an Adjutant Serjeant Major, Quarter Master Serjeant, and two Runners for each Battallion ; and a Serjeant for each Company, as fixed by act of Parliament.

I have the Honor to be, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient and faithful Humble Servant,

WELLINGTON.

(235) *Russell to Melbourne.*

ENDSLEIGH, *October 2, 1835.*

DEAR M,—I am very glad you got out of the scrape so easily with Anglesey—it was too much and too little for him.

I suppose Lord Aylmer will be sent to Ireland, he is a very well-disposed man, but not very able. You should see him and talk sense to him, if he is to go.

I send you a long letter of William's in answer to one of mine. I had proposed Fryer and Pearson to Lord Talbot as Magistrates; he replied, "They are in trade, an objection which Lord Melbourne allowed to be good." I wrote him word I was not convinced, but I would consider of it.

Littleton's reasoning seems to me perfectly good, and as I wrote to Lord Talbot, if the principle is worth anything, country gentlemen ought not to judge about hares and pheasants. What say you? for I do not like to go any further without your concurrence.

One of the Dorchester labourers, Loveless, made a confession that he had been seduced by Londoners, and had got the men to take oaths thinking there was nothing in it against law. Upon which I wrote to the Colonial Office that the two Lovelesses should be pardoned after three years in the colony. Now Joseph Hume writes me a letter, which I send you. I am not disposed myself to do more than I have done, for then we should be in their power, instead of their being in ours. What say you? To be sure the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Gordon are far more guilty than the labourers, but the law does not reach them, I fear.

I have been informed that the Bristol re-

formers, who have made a subscription to give me a piece of plate, wish to give it to me at a public dinner. I could not well refuse, and have agreed to be there on the 10th November. Here at Plymouth, and in all this county, I have got off going to any public Meeting.

Yours truly,

J. R.

(236) *Russell to Melbourne.*

ENDSLEIGH, *October 3, 1835.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I am much obliged to you for Rolfe's paper. It is certainly more practical than Bickersteth! qui donne dans le Benthamisme. I will consider it and return it to you in a few days.

I send you a letter from Mulgrave. I fear the Orange Sheriffs of Cork will consider they have gained a triumph.

I sent you a letter yesterday from Hume respecting Orange Societies—do you think any thing more can be done now? We may ask the Law Officers as to the legality, tho' I apprehend they can hardly give a decided opinion without all the facts. But dismissing from all civil offices all Orangemen would be making a flame indeed!

I am glad you are gone to Panshanger. I hope you will go a-shooting.

Yours affectionately,

J. R.

(237) *Memorandum by Russell on the Division of Duties of the Lord Chancellor.*

October 6, 1835.

There are two main points to be considered with reference to the office of Lord Chancellor ; the one, the appointment of a permanent judge in Equity to preside over the Court of Chancery ; the other the separation of the political and judicial functions of the Lord Chancellor.

1. With respect to the first, it can hardly be denied that the appointment of such Supreme Judge would be a great benefit to every person of property in the Kingdom. The fluctuation of political changes and the necessity of chusing a man fit for the front rank and station in political life, must be a great impediment to the due administration of justice in the Court of Chancery. Without these impediments the difficulty would be sufficiently great. Two of the fittest men of our time to preside in an Equity Court, Lord Eldon and Sir John Leach, had yet such faults that according to the epigram with the one you never had the *oyer*, and with the other never the *terminer*. To all these difficulties you add that of placing a man to preside in a difficult branch of law who has never studied it, and who cannot possibly find time to study it.

2. This point being abundantly clear, without going farther into the argument, let us consider the other part of the question. The doubts

in my mind were such upon this part that when asked in the House of Commons, I answered that we "had made up our minds to propose a permanent judge in equity, but that the separation of the judicial and political functions of the Lord Chancellor was a matter of great difficulty." The doubt which weighed upon my mind was, "How shall we ever find a lawyer, fit to command the respect of the Bar, and the House of Lords, who will take upon himself a mere ministerial office at a ministerial salary?" For it had never occurred to me that we could propose to give £10,000 a year, and £5,000 a year retiring pension to any man for merely being Minister of Justice. The functions can be performed without law; at present the Prime Minister and Secretary of State perform them all, perhaps less well, but certainly not so much less well, as to make it worth while to incur this difference of expense. Well, then, for the usual salary who can be got to take such an office? A lawyer in full practice? He would lose his whole income, perhaps, for three months' salary. A retired lawyer? Hardly any such would like to begin afresh the turmoil of life. He retires only because he wishes to be quiet, and you propose to him new battle in an unknown world.

It seems to me, then, matter of necessity and not of choice to have the Lord Chancellor to preside over the House of Lords. Whether to that Court of Appeal should be brought the

business before the Privy Council, and whether the Court should sit, the House of Lords being adjourned, are questions on which I do not venture to pronounce.

It remains to be considered whether such changes can be, or ought to be, proposed by us to Parliament. In the first place we are pledged so far as the permanent Judge in Equity. In the second place I think we should greatly mistake our position if we did not bring forward every useful and practical reform, which can be stated in such a manner as to carry with it the good sense of the country. It is for this that we are in office. Were we to consult the feelings of the bar, or to yield to the doubts of individual lawyers, that might be done as well by Peel, or even by Knatchbull and Chandos. If we propose what is useful for the country, for the suitors in courts of law, and that which no sound argument can overthrow, we shall ultimately find support, come what may.

As little am I deterred by the argument of expense, so long as the object is to give the suitor justice. If you cannot afford to do justice speedily and well, you may as well shut up the Exchequer, and confess that you have no right to raise taxes for the protection of the subject, for Justice is the great and primary end of Government.

J. R.

(238) *Melbourne to Russell.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

PANSHANGER, *October 6, 1835.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have received all your letters. I return you Mulgrave's of the 3rd September. Upon the whole it appears to be not an unfortunate escape out of the consequences of a questionable step. I did not say any thing about it before, because the step had been taken, but I think you will now do well to warn Mulgrave not to stir that very difficult and hazardous question of the Orange Lodges without great caution and previous consultation. This is rendered more necessary by Taylor's letter to you of the 4th inst. a copy of which has been sent to me. This letter is extremely unjust and absurd, but it is occasioned by the very strong impression which I know to have been made by the recent speeches of O'Connell, speeches which are calculated to have exactly the same effect as Brougham's of last year. Everything that renders the Roman Catholic party more irreconcilable naturally disposes more and more to a reliance upon and a clinging to the other party. You cannot expect it to be otherwise. There is a good deal in what Hume says of the difference between the Orange Lodges and the Political Unions, but the *Trades* Unions were quite as secret as the Orange Lodges, and had all the same characteristics,

and if a measure had been likely to be effectual against them, it would have been prudent and justifiable. But it was better to leave them to the absurdity and impracticability of their own objects, which has caused them to decline, though it is not probable that they will ever entirely cease, or that they will not upon occasions again revive. The question of the Orange Lodges deserves and requires a very serious consideration, because their objects though bad, are not so inconsistent and impossible and contradictory to the laws of Nature, as those of the Trades Unions. Allen says if they are not put down we may expect the same consequences as from the League. This is extravagant, but at the same time they are of the same nature as that combination.

I am certainly quite against doing anything more in the case of the Dorsetshire labourers. I thought the matter had been considered to have been settled. Perhaps if it will tend to prevent the revival of the question, you might facilitate their being joined by their families. You call Loveless's statement that he had been seduced by Londoners a confession—I call it a defence or justification, and probably false. Did he state who those Londoners were?

It is certainly true that I always admitted a man's being a Trader to be an objection to his becoming a Magistrate, and I believe that it is upon this principle that the Commissions have been constituted generally, and particularly

in the manufacturing Counties. The notion was that Manufacturers would not be considered impartial Judges in cases between the Workmen and their employers. You may certainly say the same with respect to Country Gentlemen in disputes between farmers and their men, and also upon the Game Laws, but after all Country Gentlemen have held, and still do hold, a higher character than Master Manufacturers. There is, however, a great deal in what Hatherton says, and it becomes a difficult question to decide whether in the present state of society it is either practicable or useful to maintain the distinction. It is, however, a considerable change and requires some consideration and some enquiry. It is not a very good feature in the present period that there is so much anxiety to get into the Commission of the Peace, not for the purpose of administering justice, but in order to acquire personal dignity and political influence. You must also bear in mind that the majority of Master manufacturers are Tories, particularly, for instance, in this very town of Wolverhampton, and if the rule is once to be considered broken you will enable the Lord Lieutenant to put numberless Tories into the Commission who, of course, cannot be objected to. Fryer himself, though I dare say a very honest man, is a very offensive one, professing extreme principles and I dare say putting them forward in a very insulting manner.

I return you your list of Commissioners.

Those whom I know are very proper men. Could you not transfer Mr. Roberts from the unpaid to the paid? I know him well and wish him well, having studied law under him for two years. I should think that the second Column would suit him much better than the first.

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

(239) *William Russell to Russell.*

[Watermark, 1835.]

. . . Pray look a little to Foreign Affairs yourself and don't let us spoil our noble position, for England never stood so high. She has but to dictate her will to the world, but let her never dictate except when her honour or interest require it, above all let her not meddle and intrigue.

(240) *Russell to Mulgrave.*

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.

ENDSLEIGH, *October 9, 1835.*

MY DEAR MULGRAVE,—In referring to my letter, with respect to granting military aid to support the collection of tithes, dated “Wilton Crescent, May 27, 1835,” I observe an opinion expressed towards the end of it that your opinion of the expediency of granting such aid in preserving the peace might be affected by the cir-

cumstance that the whole matter was under the consideration of the Legislature.

This being no longer the case you will doubtless receive applications for military aid, and I am glad to learn that in these difficult circumstances you have consulted the Law Officers of the Crown. I likewise concur generally in the opinion they seem to have given that the assistance of the Military and police ought to be reserved for those cases where the attempt to collect tithe has produced riot, or breach of the peace.

It is usual in this country, upon the requisition of the Magistrates, to place within their reach, and at their disposal, any military force in the immediate neighbourhood. But in consequence of the frequent calls for Military assistance in Staffordshire, on the occasion of the late contested election, I specially warned the Lord Lieutenant of that county, and the Commander in Chief, upon an occasion when riot was apprehended, not to allow the troops to be brought within sight of the people unless actual rioting took place. The meeting in question passed off quietly.

I should advise, therefore, that acting in the spirit of the opinions you have received, you do not grant military aid to accompany persons engaged in the collection of tithes—But that you should make such arrangements with the Commander in Chief as may from time to time be necessary, and that you should inform the

Owners of Tithes, applying for Military aid, that the King's troops and the police will be at all times ready to assist in the manner, which you and the authorities may judge most effectual in the preservation of the public peace.

I remain,

With great regard,

Yours most faithfully,

J. RUSSELL.

(241) *Russell to Melbourne.*

ENDSLEIGH, *October 9, 1835.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I now proceed to answer some parts of your letter of yesterday.

I will advise Mulgrave to be very wary respecting Orange Lodges. I had already warned him not to take the law implicitly from the Irish Lawyers, including the Chief. He cannot however entirely recede from what he has done, for it would be more hazardous to retreat than continue where he is.

I have written rather an evasive answer to Taylor's letter respecting Orange Lodges, but I think I must write again soon to point out the importance of the question. There is no doubt they would be the League if they could, and nothing but their want of power can excuse our standing still. I think we can hardly let the question rest.

The question of the Dorchester labourers is not finally disposed of. The debate ended in

the House of Commons by Peel's saying that if any circumstances came to my knowledge in their favour it was quite open to me, on my responsibility, to give them a further remission. Since that time two circumstances have transpired—one that Loveless gave a very fair, and I believe true account, that the evidence against him was agreeable to the fact, but that he took what he did from the suggestion of others, and that he did not know it was unlawful. Now as to the unlawfulness, it required putting together two acts of parliament to prove that the thing was unlawful; O'Connell says now that it was lawful, and no proclamation warned them that what was notoriously done all over London was illegal. Secondly, it appears that the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Wynford have been doing the same thing only with more cunning, and *deserve* at least a more severe punishment. I have already offered the wives of the Lovelesses to go out, but they would not go till their husbands were consulted. Certainly if I stay in office, I shall not keep the sentence in force the whole seven years.

I will have the name of Mr. Miles put in the Commission for Charities. I believe it was you who left Mr. Roberts among the unpaid, I suppose at the suggestion of Brougham, who seems to have had more influence at the Home Office then than he is ever likely to have again.

With respect to Magistrates it is quite true there is great desire to get into the Commission,

but you must recollect the power of a Magistrate does not begin and end with sending a sheep-stealer to jail. The county purse is in a great degree under his control, roads are turned, bridges made, the poor relieved by his decisions, and in this county our Whig magistrates have reduced the expenses 50 per cent by economy and honesty. The landed gentry are very respectable, and I have always found them kind and humane, but they are certainly the class in this country most ignorant, prejudiced and narrow-minded of any. The uneducated labourers beat them hollow in intelligence.

I have heard from Mulgrave again to-day.

Yours,

J. R.

(242) *Russell to Melbourne.*

October 9, 1835.

DEAR MELBOURNE,—Pray send back the copy of my letter which I sent you, and Sir Herbert's answer in original.

If it was intended to let me know what was thought of Brougham, so likewise it was intended by me to signify that the Lords were not to be considered, as without check or controul, and I thought Q. Anne was more *tolerable* for that purpose than 1832.

However in fact it is a remedy that would not serve the purpose. The Pitt party has been weaken'd, and not strengthen'd by making so

many dull country gentlemen duller Lords. And we should lose in the same proportion.

Two or three now and then may be useful, but I should regret any large creation. The best stuff would be liberal Irishmen—the Orange Peers are so numerous, and Duncannon is not an Orator.

I agree with you about Pepys, but I have no sort of doubt as to what must ultimately be done.

I am glad of what you told Mulgrave. I sent him an amended draught much shorter, and putting military aid in the front instead of the rear of the letter.

Yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

Pray send to Rolfe or Phillips, to say whether my list of Commissioners will do.

(243) *Russell to Melbourne.*

ENDSLEIGH, *October 11, 1835.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—The causes of the Penitentiary fire must be investigated, and likewise the state of the fire engines.

Mulgrave says your letter to him and mine entirely agreed as to the tithe: no doubt such a decision may create much embarrassment, but answers to applications must be given, and you have only an option between the course proposed, and a civil war in Ireland for the sake of tithe, which Peel and Wellington were not

prepared to undertake, and *did not*. I shall say therefore no more about it. . . .

Upon English tithes I am quite free from prejudice, as I no longer represent the Devonian destructives. Besides, Lansdowne is President of that Committee.

(244) *Melbourne to Russell.*

SOUTH STREET, *October 13, 1835.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have this morning received a letter from Mulgrave stating the course, which upon consultation with Lansdowne and Rice he has settled to pursue with respect to the applications for Tithe. It is the same both in substance and form as you and I have recommended, and therefore I consider this matter as settled.

I had intended, as Taylor's letter to you upon the subject of Orange Lodges had been sent to me by the King's Command, to read the report, and then to write generally upon the subject. You had better let me see what you write before you send it, in order that we may perfectly agree.

I do not myself care much what is done respecting the Dorsetshire Labourers. But you know the feeling which exists against their being brought back into the Country.

Do about Roberts what you will.

I am inclined to agree with you about your Magistrates. I think some Manufacturers and persons in business should be admitted. You

will have some difficulty with the Lieutenants of Counties, as it hitherto certainly has been considered a disqualification to be actually engaged in trade.

The Spanish news is as you anticipated, better. The Juntas are coming in, and Las Nevas has not advanced.

Sligo's conduct in Jamaica has been hasty and intemperate,—but there is nothing for it but to support him at present.

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

I have returned you your letters in another cover.

(245) *Tavistock to the Duke of Bedford.*

WOBURN ABBEY, *October (?) 21* [1835.]

Many thanks my dear Duke. . . .

I don't see how Mulgrave could have made a new regulation to exclude the *member for Dublin*, who was there and called upon him, to say nothing of the support he was giving to his Government, with seven millions of people at his back. Lord Wellesley told my brother the year before last that he would invite O'Connell to dinner if he came to Dublin, and he was then preaching Repeal. Extreme opinions can be no reason for excluding a man from society. . . .

Yours ever,

T.

(246) *Melbourne to Russell.**October 22, 1835.*

MY DEAR JOHN,— . . . The King is much annoyed at Mulgrave's having invited O'Connell. . . . It was in my opinion right to do it, but it is difficult to defend it. . . .

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

(247)

The following address was presented to Russell in Devonshire in October, 1835 :—

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—
We, the undersigned, inhabitants of Plymouth, Devonport, Stonehouse, and vicinity, desire to express our entire approbation of your Lordship's political conduct, and our grateful sense of the firm and zealous attachment which you, in common with the rest of His Majesty's Ministers, continue to show to the cause of civil and religious liberty. This attachment has been proved by the introduction of many measures, which have been sanctioned by the House of Commons, and promised great and lasting good to the united empire. That they have not become laws is not referable to any want of energy on the part of yourself and colleagues, but is to be ascribed to the resistance offered by another branch of the Legislature. But we feel more especially indebted to your Lordship for the

recent measure of Municipal Reform, which exchanges a number of self-elected irresponsible bodies, for local government, elected by and responsible to the people ; and although we may not approve of all its provisions, we have the satisfaction of knowing that you do not regard it as a final measure, but are on the contrary prepared to make such alterations as experience may require. We cannot take leave of your Lordship without the assurance, that we have witnessed with admiration and thankfulness, your great and protracted exertions during the past session of Parliament. We rejoice that in one important instance, at least, they have been crowned with success : and we beg to add, on public and private grounds, our most earnest wishes that your health may be soon re-established, and that your strength and spirits may long be preserved firm and unbroken.

The following was Russell's reply :—

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you most gratefully for the personal kindness which has prompted this Address, for the entire approbation of my political conduct of which you assure me, for the generous spirit in which your sentiments are conceived, and for the temperate language in which they are conveyed.

In common with the rest of His Majesty's Ministers I have endeavoured to prove my attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty, not by words only, but by acts. The

principal measures which we have proposed during the whole period which has elapsed since Lord Melbourne and his colleagues have been recalled to power, were calculated in our opinion to strengthen the bonds of union between different parts of the empire, to solve perplexing difficulties, to secure the participation of the people in the benefit of institutions intended for their use, to promote freedom, order, morality, and religion. Some of these measures after receiving the sanction of the House of Commons have been defeated by the resistance of another branch of the Legislature. They exercised their undoubted privilege; whether wisely or no, it is for you, and not for me, to determine. I may, however, be permitted to observe that the same party which prompted and led this resistance have been opposed to every liberal measure which has been proposed for the last seven years, and that upon all the most important of those measures, their resistance has ended in a confession that the struggle was hopeless, and that although darkness was still to be desired, light was no longer to be excluded.

This inherent weakness of their cause has appeared, even in the present year, upon the Bill for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations. The denunciation of robbery, the imputation of calumny, the cry of revolution, however loudly uttered and valiantly sustained, have all ended in a concession of five-sixths of the main provisions of that Bill. For the remainder, like-

wise, we are not precluded, as you justly observe, from proposing such alterations as experience may require.

Fortified, therefore, by past victories, relying firmly on future progress, I earnestly recommend you to look for the triumph of further measures of reform rather to the effect of public opinion, enlightened and matured by knowledge and discussion, than to organize changes, which cannot be proposed without causing division, nor carried without risk of convulsion, and which, even if carried, would be of very dubious benefit indeed to the popular cause, but of unquestionable danger to the Monarchy. For my own part, in my Address to you upon taking office, I declared my resolution with respect to such fundamental alterations. To the great landmarks of our liberties I must steadily adhere; of the principles which pervade our primitive institutions I am an ardent admirer; to the Constitution of this country, in all its branches, I stand pledged by feeling, by opinion, and by duty.

Gentlemen, I cannot conclude without assuring you that, although no longer your representative, I shall ever take a warm interest in the prosperity of this county, and of all its inhabitants.

(248) *Russell to Melbourne.*

ENDSLEIGH, *October 29, 1835.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I send you the Lord Advocate's remarks on Mr. Wallace's. They

will, I think, furnish you with a complete answer to that part which relates to lay property in tithes. As to the statistical information respecting every person's religion, you know we all agreed in the Cabinet that we did not intend to make this enquiry resemble the Irish in that respect.

I should judge from Sir H's letters that the irritation produced by O'Connell's speeches has greatly subsided.

You had better frame your answer to Wallace on the papers I send you, and then return them.

Yours faithfully,

J. R.

(249) *Melbourne to Russell.*¹

1835.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have been employed all morning in answering that letter from Brougham. I have thought it best, as the ice is broke, to tell him pretty much my whole mind.

I send you the amendment in the form in which I should like to vote for it better than that in which it stood before.

. . . Reaping fruits is too metaphorical and pretient.

There is no such —² as reform. Whoever tells of any thing but the reformation of religion, placing the Corporations under popular

¹ Watermark 1833. Parts are illegible.

² Illegible.

control points too much to one way of reforming them.

Tithe System is a vile phrase. Your last sentence clumps the Church of Ireland and England too much together as if the evils in both Countries were the same.

The Bill for amending the representation ought never to be mentioned without the word "necessary." If it was not absolutely necessary, it was the foolishhest thing ever done.

You may adopt these or not, as you like.

Yours,

MELBOURNE.

(250) *Mulgrave to Russell.*

November, 1835.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I was very much pleased indeed with your Bristol Speech. It seemed to me peculiarly well calculated to allay alarm on the one side without disappointing expectation on the other. I should think its tone very likely to do the Government good at Head Quarters. I was very glad to hear in one of your last letters that you thought the unaccountable irritation against me *there* was subsiding, because whatever its trifling origin may have been it is not pleasant to have one's every action misrepresented by him one is sent to represent. One sometimes can judge the state of feeling there from small indications, and such an opportunity will occur shortly. When I was at Belfast the

Governors of the Royal Academical Institution, who, you know, are the great Presbyterian College of the North, showed me a full length Portrait of the King painted by a Belfast artist and presented to them by him. They said they had had several communications from Sir Herbert Taylor on the subject and requested me to convey to him for the information of H.M. when I returned to Dublin that I had seen it there with the expressions of their gratitude &c. &c. As when your sturdy Presbyterians choose to be frivolous and fawning it does not do to baulk them I wrote a few days ago to Taylor accordingly and we shall see whether I get a civil answer to a communication which under ordinary circumstances is of a nature to be most graciously received.

That which gives me most uneasiness in the present state of the Country (otherwise perfectly tranquil) is the disposition to outrage on the part of the Orangemen throughout the whole of that Tract of Country which runs almost across the Island a little to the North of Dublin where parties are nearly equally divided. There is another (of which you will receive the official report) in Cavan much more brutal and disgusting in its details than the one at ——. I am afraid too there, that unless the Government promptly interposes and appears to take the Question up in the shape of investigation by sending a special Magistrate down, that such is the excitement in consequence of the neighbour-

ing Catholic Population that they will come down from the Mountains of Leitrim where they swarm, and that there will be a frightful collision. However they have at once petitioned for a Government inquiry, and will be satisfied with that at present I should hope. I see in the *Standard* to-day an attack upon the wording of —— [Rest missing].

(251) *Sydney Smith to Russell.*

3, WEYMOUTH STREET, *November 24, 1835.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have totally forgotten what day you mentioned for my dining with you. . . . And now I am writing I must correct a mistake into which you have fallen, my dear John, respecting me. I am not a Lover of Abuses, and have no passion for them. I entirely agree with all this administration have done and all that I believe they intend to do. I am a sincere friend to the Reform of the English and to the circumscription of the Irish Protestant Church. What you mistake for a Love of abuses is a Love of talking Nonsense and joking upon all subjects. 2ndly . . . a much greater apprehension of political changes than you seem to entertain, a conviction that the best understandings often cannot see the consequence of measures, that the game though it must be played is one of great difficulty and danger, You must not forget that I began attacking abuses 30 and 40 years ago when it was almost safer to be a

felon than a reformer, and you must not mistake my afternoon nonsense for my serious and morning opinions.

Ever yours,

SYDNEY SMITH.

(252) *Russell to Mulgrave.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

WILTON CRESCENT, *December 3, 1835.*

MY DEAR MULGRAVE,—I have consulted the Cabinet upon the Questions you put, and although they have given me no specific directions, I think I am sufficiently authorized to lay before you my view upon the subjects you have treated.

I do not think Lord Bandon can be put out of the Commission of the Peace, or deprived of his Deputy Lieutenancy. It is one thing to weed out Orangeism from the Army and Police, organized Bodies under the Orders of Government, and another to deprive Magistrates of their Commissions as Justices of the Peace. Such a step as this last would excite great commotion and perhaps strengthen the Orange Lodges. The Rules then which I would lay down at present are—

1. Dismiss from the Police every Orangeman.
2. Do not admit to any place of Trust or Authority any Orangeman who comes

to you for approval—except in cases to be mentioned.

3. Do not dismiss Orangemen from Clerkships, places in the Revenue etc. but do not admit any fresh ones.
4. Dismiss any Orange Magistrate, who shall be found encouraging a Violation of the Law, as in the case of Colonel Blacker, and do not permit any young ones to be Magistrates as in the case of Lord Claude.

I come then to the case of the Sheriffs. I do not think you are bound to the first in the List, but I would not have you travel out of the List unless either the whole three are incapable from illness, want of property, etc. or there has been an evident fraud in placing 2 out of the 3 on the List, to force you to choose the third.

By no means make an exception to the general rule in favour of Mr. John O'Connell. He can be Sheriff next year.

Thanks for your Letter about Tithes etc. I saw Drummond yesterday, and he will tell you the sort of questions I wish put. Morpeth must be instructed to get the Irish Bills in a state of forwardness. I mean all except the Church Bill. The Municipal Corporations Bill must be looked over by you, Morpeth and O'Loghlin, and the Bill we passed last year in the Commons carefully compared with the English Act, as it passed. Morpeth may then draw up a Paper containing the Heads of the New Bill, as you would think

it best to introduce it, and the Cabinet can decide what is best to insist upon, or omit.

Yours ever,

J. R.

(253) *Russell to Mulgrave.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

LONDON, December 6, 1835.

MY DEAR MULGRAVE,—When I was at Brighton the day before yesterday I thought it right to inform the King generally of the views entertained by Hume and others respecting Orange Lodges and those which I had communicated to you. He declared his entire disapprobation of these Societies, but said he thought he had shewn sufficiently that he would not encourage them by the means taken in respect to the Army—which had proved effectual. He did not see what more could be done. Surely not any new Laws. I concurred very much in what he had said, but told him that Mr. Hume wished to dismiss from the Magistracy and from office all Orangemen. He objected strongly to such a course. I told him that in my opinion any proscription of this kind would inflame rather than check the Orangemen—that what we wished was gradually to discourage and damp them and that in my opinion the best way to do this was to dismiss from the Ranks of the Army and Police, and *not to admit* to places of trust any Orangemen.

He agreed ; suggesting that many fit and able Persons might be Orangemen, and that if there were any question of their appointment, they should be asked whether they would leave the Orange Society or not take the appointment.

I closed with this suggestion, and said it should be so put. I did not touch upon the Sheriffs, whose case I imagine, is quite different.

Here therefore the conversation ended. The King was a good deal excited, but perfectly reasonable, as I thought, in his views.

If therefore the Chancellor is asked to appoint any Orangeman a Magistrate, he may ask him whether he belongs to the Orange Society and means to continue in it—and so of any office if such a case should occur.

Pray speak to Lord Plunket on the matter.

I go to the Country for a week to-morrow.

Yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

(254) *Charles Greville to Palmerston.*

[This letter should follow after No. 185, p. 67.]

LONDON, *December 9, 1834.*

You may rely upon it, no overture has been made to Stanley—nothing has been done without Peel, who arrived to-day. I concluded that he has by this time written to Stanley and have no doubt that such an offer has been made to him as he can accept, unless he resolves to have no connection with the Gov^t at any price. My mind is altogether suspended as to Stanley's

acceptance, but your friends won't hear of ye possibility of it. I never saw anything like ye confidence of Whigs & Radicals of ye result of ye elections & of turning out the new Gov^t at once. I think the danger much greater than the Tories in their sanguine dispositions apprehend, but not quite so great as ye Whigs fancy. Melbourne's 2nd Speech at Derby w^d have been very well if he had not made the first, but in so much as it was a sort of recantation of what he had before said, & that he did this under compulsion, it was very unworthy of him, & I regret it. John's speech at Totnes appears to me to have been one of the cleverest and most appropriate I ever read. He was under no such obligation as Melbourne had imposed upon himself, and nothing c^d be more able than John's argument, nor I think on the whole fairer. With respect to "the case," I can only say that there is a great lie somewhere, for ye assertions of the Exministers are wholly irreconcilable with the explanations with which H M has furnished his new advisers. On ye whole I regret that the King turned the old Gov^t out but as he has done so, I hope the new may keep their places, for I see no decent alternative upon third defeat. Ye old Cabinet can't be reconstructed, and they go on with the King if it was. How could he look them in ye face. And what splendour belonging to the Crown would compensate for the humiliation of his position. Brougham appears to be cutting his capers at a fine

rate at Paris. It is a fine stage for him. His friends thought adversity was to make him wiser, but there seems to be little appearance of it. There is a Council to-morrow, I know not for what, for nothing can be settled yet. . . .

Yours ever,

C. G.

(255) *Russell to Melbourne.*

WOBURN ABBEY, *December 12, 1835.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I am glad the preliminaries are settled. Fitzwilliam naturally does not like Segrave. But the time to object was when he was made a peer—that was the step which placed him on a footing to claim his present honours. Althorp and Tavistock are quite satisfied it was right—I cannot say what Ebrington thinks.

I do not know much of the Court of Chancery, but I see strong objections to Pemberton's plan. I fear the effect would be to transfer the Court of Chancery to the House of Lords. Every one who appeals now would appeal then. You would thereby lose one of the great objects, if not the greatest, that of placing in the Court of Chancery an Equity Lawyer as Chief, as you place in the King's Bench a common lawyer. Rolfe's plan therefore, as approved by Campbell seems to me by far the best. Nor is there any more difficulty in carrying the one than the other. But in order to propose one or the other you must

have a Lord Chancellor and discuss your plan with him. I suppose the pension is decided. With respect to the Mastership of the Rolls, I shall be content to see it given to Brougham, Bickersteth or Campbell. I am doubtful between the two first, and now wish that you would consult other members of the Cabinet. Did you read the *Morning Advertiser*? The mischief is but too evident, and the hand too plain.

I am sorry you have been ill. They hope to see you here for some shooting when you have leisure. I shall be in town on Monday, and stay till I go to Brighton for the council.

I had a long talk with Spencer, and told him our tithe plan, and the plan of the Church Commission. He liked both upon the whole, and said that if we began the session with these measures, it would quiet the alarm of the friends of the Church. He seems very cordial with the Ministry, and more eager about politicks than I expected. His dread of being asked to return to office is wearing out, which makes him more at his ease. Last week he was on the point of setting out for Germany, to avoid any chance of being persuaded to take office.

Ever yours truly,

J. R.

(256) *Russell to Melbourne.*

December 14, 1835.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—You may have seen from my letter that I was not at all disposed to

urge pertinaciously what yet I think is a fair claim for Brougham. In your place, I could venture to recommend him to the King, but I cannot fairly ask you to be responsible. . . .

The appointment of Bickersteth would have this advantage, that the Courts of Equity would be as well filled as the corruption of what is called Equity, . . . would permit. And so far we should stand justified to the Country.

I think Pemberton's objection might be got over by giving an appeal either to 1 Judge in Court of Chancery, or House of Lords, as the suitor chose, but not both. But these questions must be discussed with your future Chancellor and Master of the Rolls.

Recollect that the political Chancellor must be a Judge of Appeal; and if you take Pemberton's place a Common Lawyer would hardly be more fit for the place than he now is for the Great Seal.

I once thought that there ought to be a Vice-President of the Privy Council, to sit supreme in all questions from the Colonies and East Indies. And I am still of opinion that it would improve the administration of Justice in our foreign dependencies.

If Thomson comes back on Wednesday, we might have the Cabinet on Thursday or Friday. You had better summon it for one of those days. . . .

Yours truly,
J. RUSSELL.

(257) *Melbourne to Russell.**December 16, 1835.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have had a curious correspondence with Brougham, in which, in order to relieve the Government from any embarrassment, he desires to be understood as having [renounced?] any claim he may, have to the Great Seal. This makes me doubt whether it would be prudent to offer the Rolls at all. . . .

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

(258) *Russell to Tavistock.**WOBURN ABBEY, December 25, 1835.*

MY DEAR TAVISTOCK,—You are right in saying that it was my intention to subscribe to the relief of the Irish Clergy before the meeting took place. But I was determined not to do so if the money raised was to be applied to litigation between the clergy and the tithe payers. . . . After reading the Archbishop of Canterbury's speech (a truly charitable speech) I proposed to Lord Melbourne that we should subscribe to the relief of the distressed Clergy. . . . I am myself very warm in political questions, but I trust my politicks will never so far triumph over my religion as to induce me to withhold alms to the distressed or justice to the motives of my political adversaries. . . .

Ever yours afftely.,

J. RUSSELL.

CHAPTER V

The government of Ireland—The King's observations—A Bill to render legal Marriages celebrated by Dissenting Ministers—Plan for the Militia—The King and O'Connell—Russell's proposal for the creation of Peers to overcome resistance—The Church Discipline Bill—Death of William IV—Accession of Victoria—Measures against corrupt practices in elections—Troubles in Canada—Lord Durham acts as Governor—England, Russia, and Persia—Plans for National Education—Public Health measures.

(259) *Brougham to Russell.*

N. CIRCUIT, *Saturday.*
[1836 probably.]

MY DEAR GIOVANNI,—. . . Pray think seriously before agreeing to a Declaration or any such nonsensical thing. You must recollect that some will refuse it, so *these* will be cut out for at present they have the indemnity, to save them.

As for declaring not to use official influence for effecting changes in a legal way, I *could* not make such a vow myself. I am sure no Quaker will as long as tithes exist. But if it only means that nothing against law is to be done that is a merely nonsensical declaration.

As for Peel, you must see that they do not give him the credit (as usual) of a measure he did all the little he could to oppose. He really is too great an impostor. . . .

Yours ever,

H. BROUGHAM.

(260) *Sir Herbert Taylor to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

BRIGHTON, *January 3, 1836.*

MY DEAR LORD,—I had yesterday the honour of receiving your Lordship's Letter of the 31st ulto., and of submitting it to the King.

His Majesty has ordered me to inform you that he has received and read with great Satisfaction Your Report on the State of the Country, and that it fully confirms the accounts which His Majesty had occasionally received from other Quarters, and the Impressions He entertained respecting the Tranquillity which prevails throughout England, the Diminution of Political Violence and of a discontented and unruly Spirit in the humbler Classes, a consequent more general Return to habits of Industry and a disposition to take advantage of those Sources and means of Employment which the Encrease of Trade, in almost all its branches, and the growing Prosperity of this great Country offers in so extraordinary a degree.

His Majesty is aware that these favourable Reports apply to the manufacturing Towns and

Districts more than to the Agricultural Districts, but He is not ignorant of the endeavours which are used by Landholders to improve the Condition and the Resources of the Agricultural Portion of the Population and He has no doubt that those Endeavours will undeniably receive very essential aid and support from the Operation of the New Poor Law, however unpopular some of its Provisions may be, and in spite of the Obstructions offered to them by those chiefly on whose idleness and disorderly habits they are calculated to place restrictions. His Majesty highly approves of the Precautions used and the Steps taken by Your Lordship to meet and to defeat all Opposition to the Law, and He rejoices that they have proved uniformly successful, without incurring the necessity of violence.

His Majesty wishes sincerely that it were in your power to include Ireland in the favourable Report, or rather to express Yourself with Confidence in Consequence of its Comparatively tranquil State and of the Improvements in Roads, Agriculture, and Education, to which You advert. He believes them to have been very great, and He is sensible that Ireland possesses resources which, under a steady Administration of Authority and Law, and a peaceful Observance of both, would very soon render it a happy and a prosperous country, but experience has shown that no Reliance can be placed upon the *Appearance* of Calm in Ireland, and that a large Portion of its Population is under the Guidance

and the influence of Passions which are incompatible with the preservation of Peace and which may, at any moment, be moved into active Opposition to Authority and into Violence by those who feel inclined to render them the Instruments of their hostility to the Connexion with England and of their Resistance to the Government,—and it is impossible for His Majesty not to apprehend that tranquillity, which depends upon the good will and the Sufferance of those who unfortunately exercise so pernicious an influence may, when least expected, be disturbed by Causes of Agitation, which are purposely kept in reserve.

Whether the Introduction of a Poor Law framed upon that which exists in this Country, but modified so as to suit the Character, habits, and Circumstances of the Irish People, would prove an effectual check to Disorder, and be productive of general Improvement in their Morals and habits, is a question which His Majesty is persuaded has undergone the serious consideration of His Government, and he is sensible also that a Measure so important cannot be hastily applied and that it may be advisable to wait the effect of the new Law in England before its Provisions are extended to Ireland.

Upon this occasion the King has ordered me to call Your Lordship's Attention to an arrangement which His Majesty has learnt from the Newspapers to have been recently introduced by the Attorney-General in Ireland, and which He

noticed to Lord Melbourne when last here,—namely, the Appointments of Local Solicitors in every County, to conduct the Business of the Crown at the Sessions, in supercession to those hitherto employed. His Majesty cannot help dreading the effect of such an arrangement at this period, when the Attorney-General is a Roman Catholic, and when the Influence of Mr. O'Connell with that Portion of the Population of Ireland is so powerful and may be favored by these local Appointments which may become more or less the Aiders and Abettors of His Designs. His Majesty has indeed understood that the Individual named for the County of Tyrone is a relation of Mr. O'Connell.

The King hopes that his apprehensions may be unfounded, but he considers it right to state them to Your Lordship with a view to such enquiry as you may think fit to make.

I have the honour to be with great regard,
My dear Lord,

Most faithfully yours,
H. TAYLOR.

(261) *Russell to Taylor.*

WOBURN ABBEY, *January 5, 1836.*

MY DEAR SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge your letter and am much gratified to find that his Majesty has read with great satisfaction the General Report I made on the state of the country. . . .

I quite admit that policy of this kind [conciliatory] must be administered with great caution, and a careful attention to the character of individuals. But the interest is one of mighty concern to the Empire. If by any misfortune the peace of Europe were to be disturbed, and Ireland could not be governed by her affections, the best allies of Russia or any hostile power would be found among a discontented peasantry, and the most costly army might be required in the heart of the British Dominions.

J. RUSSELL.

(262) *Russell to Taylor.*

WHITEHALL, *January 9, 1836.*

MY DEAR SIR,—I had the honour of receiving last Night your Letter Dated Yesterday in reply to mine of the 5th instant.

It gives me great pleasure to find that the reasons assigned by the Attorney General of Ireland appear to His Majesty in general satisfactory and sufficient.

They are founded undoubtedly on a State of Disorder and outrage which is greatly to be lamented, but any improvement in this respect can only be gradual and comparative, while in our view the fights at fairs and races are generally found to increase as Political excitement diminishes.

I should have mentioned but that I thought

Lord Melbourne might have referred to Lord Mulgrave's Letter, that the Lord Lieutenant had been apprized by the Attorney-General of the arrangement proposed, and had given it his General Sanction. I certainly had not been aware of the alterations, till my attention was called to it by His Majesty's remarks.

Having replied on these points, I will now proceed to state how far I think my observations, from a want of clearness on my part, have been misunderstood. I certainly did not wish to propose any compromise, and I hope not any prostitution of the favours of the Crown. To the destruction of the Institutions of the Country, the Subversion of the Established Religion and the separation of Ireland from England, I, in common with the rest of the King's Servants, must oppose an unconquerable resistance. Nor do I expect that those who have such objects in view can be satisfied with the present Ministry, or give them any support, except as a choice of Evils.

But looking to the immediate state of Ireland it appears to my Humble Judgment that while Political Agitation is suspended, and National Influences are resuming their sway, advantage may in some Instances be taken with caution and due regard to character, of detaching from the former partizans of Separation, and recruiting the ranks of Order and British Connexion. And I should fear that any marked line of Exclusion would tend more to reserve the seeds

of Agitation for the future than a more Confiding Course.

There is sometimes in Nations, as in Individuals, a proneness to adopt extreme opinions for which allowance should I think be made. For instance, I remember when Sir Robert Wilson used to alarm me with his open profession of Democracy, and when on the Hustings of Southwark he gave, what Mr. Calvet called, "a fraternal Hug" to Mr. Hunt. But he is now an altered man in this respect, and no one certainly would propose that he should be excluded from the favour of the Crown, on account of his former Violence. So likewise it may be, I conceive, with some of these Irish Agitators. The Repeal of the Union was taken up by many, without much reflexion, and I really believe that if at the End of Two Years of tolerable tranquillity Mr. O'Connell were to raise the Cry again, more than half his former followers would desert him.

I may perhaps be permitted to say, two words on the General course of the Government, which I should more properly leave to Lord Melbourne. Our principles and opinions seem to me to be pretty clearly defined. I do not believe that anything we shall propose will be injurious to the Church or to the settled Institutions of the Country. But we cannot expect that our Views will entirely coincide with those of any other Party in the State. Neither those who agree with us generally, and who are personally our

friends can be expected to come over to us on such questions as the Irish Church, nor will those who supported us last year agree with us in resisting a change in the House of Lords.

It must be left to time to solve the difficulty then consequent upon the divergence of opinion. His Majesty's Views in this respect are such as become the exalted Station which he fills, and the Enlarged and comprehensive benevolence of his Character. But men engaged in the turmoil of public Life are bound by connexions, fettered by Public declarations, and liable to perpetual Misconstruction, and thus live in an Atmosphere, far above which the Sovereign moves and reigns.

That His Majesty may not suffer, or the Public Interests be injured by these Party contentions will always be my anxious wish.

I have the honour to be,

With great regard,

Yours very faithfully,

RUSSELL.

(263) *Taylor to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

App^d. WILLIAM R.

BRIGHTON, *January* 10, 1836.

MY DEAR LORD,—I have not delayed to submit Your Lordship's Letters of yesterday, to the King who has ordered me to communicate to you the Remarks His Majesty made upon Your Reply to mine of the 8th.

The King in stating that He could not approve of any compromise with [?] any Constitution of the favor of the Crown to the Partizans of the violent Party in Ireland did not mean to say, that such could be suggested by Your Lordship or Your Colleagues, but intended to apply the Observation to the Characters and the acts of Mr. O'Connell and some of His Adherents who have so repeatedly declared Designs to which Your Lordship in common with the rest of the King's Servants must oppose an unconquerable Resistance.

But these Individuals have not only avowed such intention, but they have caused it to be understood, in words too plain to be mistaken, that excitement is suspended and agitation is kept in Reserve so long only as the Government shall pursue a Course *which they shall approve*—His Majesty therefore conceives it to be very natural that He should question the Policy or the Safety of a confiding course with respect to Individuals of this Stamp and should consider that, as it applied to such at least, the practice of holding a Candle to the Devil may be carried too far. If, however, any line can be drawn between Mr. O'Connell and some of his past friends and followers, if there be any who, having been his willing Tools and Supporters, have shewn a positive Inclination to detach themselves from him, His Majesty is not disposed to deny that a marked line of exclusion with respect to them would not be wise, but, although

His Majesty has, in other Instances, proved His readiness to make Allowance for the proneness which Individuals have shown to adopt extreme Opinions, He apprehends that great Caution ought to be observed with respect to those who have adopted the Opinions of Mr. O'Connell or betrayed any Leaning to his Character and Conduct, and he does not believe that the Jail would be much injured by the absorption of any joints, if those only which are sound be detached.

His Majesty cannot admit the justice of the Comparison between Sir Robert Wilson and the followers of Mr. O'Connell. Sir Robert Wilson had done good and gallant Service before He unfortunately adopted that wild and violent Course and the extreme Opinions which excluded him, very properly, from the favor of the Crown, —but, although he abandoned that Course and acknowledged his Errors and his folly, Years passed before the Impressions they had left, were removed and before Credit was given to him for Consistency in the more sober Course, Years again before he received the Reward to which his early Services had entitled him.

Nor, on the other hand, is the King disposed to pay to the respectable Members of that great Political Party which was so long opposed to, and which now constitutes or is connected with, the Government of the Country, the ill Compliment of placing their Course, Actions, and Intentions in the same Category with those of the Fraction which constitutes the more violent

Party in Ireland and, for the Reasons assigned in my Letter of the 8th Inst, His Majesty is most anxious that there should be no Appearance of Countenance given to Men of that description, which would be inconsistent with the respect and the high Character which it is desirable that a great Party should possess and maintain. Nor does the King confine this Remark and the feeling which produces it to Political Conduct, and Opinions and Designs, for it is impossible for him not to appreciate the value which a Political Course derives from respectability in Sanity and in the Ordinary transactions of Life, and therefore, on that ground, even if there were no other, not to shrink from the thought of showing favor or Countenance to such Men as Messrs. O'Connell, Ruthven, and Shiel, or those who may seek advancement by a close connexion with them.

His Majesty heard with great satisfaction that Your Lordship's Attention had been given to the Question of the Militia Establishment, and that you have been in communication with the Duke of Wellington and also with the Duke of Richmond on the subject, also that You had denoted an Inspection of the Out Pensioners with the view to a Return of those who may be fit for duty.

The King has directed me to mention to you on this occasion that a few years ago Sir Richard Jackson the Deputy Quartermaster applied a good deal of his time and attention to the subject

of the Militia Establishment and Regulations and that His Majesty is persuaded You would find him a useful Adjutant in the Revision and Reconstruction of it. He possesses great Intelligence and Information, but being of an unassuming disposition and retired habits, would not come forward, unless encouraged to do so.

His Majesty has not yet received the Appointment of Mr. Hull as Stipendiary Magistrate for Liverpool, but will approve it whenever submitted to Him.

I have the honour to be with great regard,

My dear Lord,

Yours very faithfully,

H. TAYLOR.

(264) *Russell to Melbourne.*

January 10, 1836.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I think the circumstances stated by Campbell make it incumbent on you to call a Cabinet, as you propose, early to-morrow.

At the same time I cannot forget the manner in which Campbell induced us to treat the Attorney General in the person of Horne.

“The right of a person appointed Attorney General, who does his duty and gives satisfaction to the Government he serves, to succeed to any judicial office that may become vacant!”

Does he mean that Rolfe being Attorney

General would have a right to succeed Denman as Chief Justice?

There will, of course, be a jealousy between the Chancery and Common Law Bar on this subject. I am not inclined to submit, unless I find the Cabinet almost unanimous in favour of Campbell.

Yours,

J. R.

(265) *In Russell's Handwriting.*

Heads of a Bill to render legal the marriages celebrated by Dissenting Ministers.

1. All Dissenters to conform to the present laws in regard to the proclamation by Banns.

2. A clergyman shall, if required, deliver a Certificate to the parties that he has published their banns in the Church; he shall ascertain to the best of his powers that the parties have complied with the laws respecting banns, and shall be entitled on delivery of the certificate to a fee not exceeding —.

3. Twenty householders of a parish, being Dissenters, may apply by memorial to the Quarter Sessions for a license to marry for the licensed Minister of a licensed dissenting Chapel within their parish.

4. Dissenting Ministers thus authorized may celebrate marriage between the hours of 9 & 12 in the forenoon with open doors in the chapel licensed in the manner aforesaid. Notice to be

given on the Sunday preceding the marriage before the Congregation in the said chapel.

5. Dissenting Ministers shall not celebrate marriage in any instance without having first rec^d. a Certificate signed by officiating Clergyman of the parish. All marriages thus contracted to be valid by law.

6. Dissenting Minister, authorized as aforesaid, to keep register of all marriages celebrated by him to be kept in or near the chapel.

7. Copy of or duplicated Register to be transmitted every 3 months to Registrar of the Diocese.

8. The said register or duplicate to be given in evidence of any marriage in a court of law. Evidence may be given to show that the entry was fraudulently made or without the attestations required by the Act.

9. Penalties for any offence against this Act.

10. Penalties on Dissenting Minister marrying persons neither of whom belong to the congregation. Marriage still to be valid.

At various times Russell was much occupied, and had much correspondence, on the subject of the Militia. I have found many notes referring to it, both during his tenure of the Home Office, 1835-9, and during his Prime Ministry, when corresponding with the Duke of Wellington, 1847-9. The following refer to the first period.

Plan for the Militia.

1. One permanent Serjeant for every 80 men (instead of 40 as by old Militia Act).

2. One drill Serjeant for every alternate company, only to be employed when the Militia is embodied.

3. Militia to be called out once in every three years for one day.

4. Each permanent Serjeant to be able to read and write, and keep accounts, and to be admitted only upon a character for steadiness and sobriety.

5. A list of the pensioners who have not served twenty-one years, or who having served twenty-one years have been admitted on the pension list, within the five years preceding, to be furnished to the Lord Lieutenant of the county wherever they reside.

6. Pensioners appointed to militia staff not to receive their pensions, but to have an encreased pension at the end of ten years' faithful service.

7. Officers serving on the Staff in each district in Great Britain and Ireland to be appointed to inspect Militia Staff in each county within his district. No Serjeant to be appointed to the Staff without his previous certificate.

8. Officers inspecting to be directed to recommend in certain instances that Staff Serjeants should be ordered to join depôt or headquarters of a regiment of the line in order to perfect

themselves in drill may be ordered for that purpose by Secretary of State to place themselves under command of officer commanding such regiment or dépôt for period not exceeding three months.

9. Power of payment for that purpose.

Heads of Militia Bill.

1. Number of Serjeants of each Regiment of Militia on permanent Staff to be one for every eighty men. Where less than that number now, to be filled up to that number; where more, vacancies not to be filled up.

2. Serjeants to be appointed in future to permanent Staff to be able to read and write and keep accounts furnished with a certificate of character for sobriety and steadiness from householders of parish in which they have resided or regiment in which they have served, approved as fit for the duty of permanent serjeants by an Officer serving on the Staff in Great Britain or Ireland.

3. Non-commissioned officers or privates on the pension list, having the above requisites, to be preferred to other candidates. For this purpose Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital to furnish Lords Lieutenant, through Secretary of State, with a list of pensioners in each County in the United Kingdom reported fit for duty.

4. After ten years' good service such pensioners to be entitled on retirement to an increased rate of 3d. a day pension.

5. Power in the Secretary of State to order staff of militia to join any regiment or depôt serving in the United Kingdom, which shall be pointed out for that purpose by Commander-in-Chief, with a view to learn or perfect their drill-period, not more than six weeks' pay for that purpose.

6. Militia to be called out for one day every year in sub-division meetings, in plain clothes. Deputy lieutenants to attend, pay for one day, distances to be made convenient by Lords Lieutenant at Lieutenancy Meeting.

Concerning the Militia.

1. Let the Ballot take place, according to the best and most economical plan that can be formed—males from 20 to 40—to serve five years.

2. Let every 25,000, or every 20,000 of the population furnish a company of 80 men.

3. Let there be one serjeant during peace for every company.

4. Let the company be called out every year for one day.

5. Let the battalion be called out once in every two years for — days.

6. Let each Serjeant be required to act during peace as a constable.

7. Let forty men be balloted in every 20,000.

8. Let every Union furnish one company, or half company, or more than one company.

*(266) The King to Russell.*BRIGHTON, *February 12, 1836.*

The King acknowledges the receipt of Lord John Russell's Report of the Proceedings of the House of Commons yesterday evening from which His Majesty is not surprised to learn that Mr. O'Connell should seek to procrastinate the consideration and the inquiry into a transaction of which the full exposure is likely to add if possible to the discredit which attaches to his general conduct. His Majesty suspects however that Mr. O'Connell has long been callous to any stigma, altho' he may be irritated by the defeat of his odious purposes. His Majesty sincerely hopes that the Irish Corporation Bill may be finally arranged to the satisfaction of all parties.

WILLIAM R.

*(267) The King to Russell.*ST. JAMES'S PALACE, *February 24, 1836.*

. . . The King highly approves of the very judicious course adopted by Lord John Russell; His Majesty does not think that under the circumstances which had led to the agitation of the question, the words Orange Leader could reasonably have been excluded from the amendment and His Majesty rejoices that the amendment was carried without a division.

WILLIAM R.

(268) *Melbourne to Russell.*

February 26, 1836.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have sent your letter to the King. . . . I have a letter from the King giving up Grey at once, which perhaps does not diminish the difficulty. . . .

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

(269) *The King to Russell.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, March 2, 1836.

The King has received Lord John Russell's letter of yesterday, . . .

His Majesty cannot say that he regrets the check given to the Railway Mania by the loss of the Gravesend Railroad Bill.

WILLIAM R.

(270)

In April, 1836, Lord Melbourne wrote a note on the measure on Church Rates as follows: "If a measure upon this subject is absolutely necessary, as I suppose it is, I think the course pursued by Lord John Russell is the only one which we can pursue."

Lord Lansdowne wrote: "I certainly concur in all the reasoning of Lord J. Russell's excellent statement."

Lord Minto: "I certainly concur," with one exception.

Lord Palmerston: "Lord John Russell's reasoning in reply to the Dissenters' objection to an indirect contribution to Church Rates is conclusive."

(271) *Memorandum to the Cabinet by Russell.*

June 5, 1836.

I beg to call the attention of the Cabinet to the position in which the present conduct of the House of Lords may place the Ministry and the Country. It is evident that a majority of that House are combined, not to stop or alter a particular measure, but to stop or alter all measures, which may not be agreeable to the most powerful, or in other words the most violent, among their own body.

Both the Tories and the Radicals have the advantage of a definite course with respect to this state of things. The Tories praise the wisdom of the Lords, and wish to maintain their power undiminished. The Radicals complain of a mischievous obstacle to good government, and propose an elective House of Lords.

The Ministers stand in the position of confessing the evil, and not consenting to the remedy. The influence of public opinion is, indeed, to be looked to as some check to the House of Lords, but on Irish questions it is a very imperfect one.

It is certainly possible to wait till the beginning of next session before any definite course

is taken. But I own it appears to me better to take every opportunity of increasing the strength of the Liberal Party in the House of Lords, than to begin a struggle against a majority such as that which the Tory peers now possess. It is possible, nay probable, that if the Tories could see a steady and gradual creation of Peers, to meet their obstinate resistance, they would be disposed to yield. Before the passing of the Reform Bill they were coerced by the dread of a large creation, and by that alone.

It appears to me, therefore, that this opportunity should be taken for the creation of eight, ten, or twelve peers, and the Ministry be prepared to advise a similar measure, whenever it is provoked.

(272) *Russell to Melbourne.*

June 5, 1836.

DEAR MELBOURNE,—I think if you are not of the opinion stated in the paper I sent you, it will be better not to send it round. One day or other we shall all come to one mind upon it, and till we do, it is as well not to have my proposition debated. But I beg you to consider it well.

The proposition on the Irish Bill is to give eleven large towns the original Bill, 17 others the provisions of 9 Geo. 4, and to omit or disfranchise entirely 22.

This you can write or tell to Lord Grey, there

is nothing else of consequence, except that we by this means, with the exception of 11 towns, place the administration of justice entirely in the hands of the Crown.

Yours,

J. R.

(273) *Melbourne to Russell.*

June 5, 1836.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have kept your letter in order to give it a little consideration. It is a very serious step and, there is no doubt, if taken, will lead to the resignation of the Government and the attempt to form another. . . . I think it would be a good thing if you could before Monday communicate to Grey, what you intend to propose to the Members on that day at the Foreign Office.

(274) *Russell to Melbourne.*

WOBURN ABBEY, *January or July 6, 1836.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I have little to add to my letter of yesterday.

If you think fit to carry the original arrangement into effect, I think you will be fully justified, and I shall most cordially concur. I do not see that it is possible to say more to Campbell than this, that his claims will be very strong, if not paramount, in the disposal of the divided office of Lord Chancellor.

If, on the contrary, you think that your offer

to Bickersteth and your recommendation to the King ought to be retracted, and the Rolls offered to Campbell, I think it will be necessary to call a Cabinet, and to write to Lansdowne to ask his opinion in writing.

I should at all events bring Hobhouse up to see Bickersteth and explain fully with him.

The bestowing a cavalry regiment on Wilson, who never was more than a Captain of Dragoons, and an Infantry regiment on F. Ponsonby, the most distinguished cavalry officer in our service, may well cause surprise. I hope Lord Hill can justify it.

Yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

I shall have some dinner for you to-morrow.

I wish you would speak to Lord Hill about Sir F. Stovin. He is a good soldier and deserves well of us.

ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING AT THE FOREIGN
OFFICE TO CONSIDER THE POSTPONEMENT OF
THE CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.

(275) *Russell to Melbourne.*

WHITEHALL, *July 25, 1836.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—The report of what took place at the Foreign Office was extremely incorrect, and Mr. Poulett Thomson undertook on Saturday to have the Report given in the newspapers contradicted in some other newspaper

—I suppose the *Courier*—as there was no contradiction in the *Globe* of that evening. I mention this merely to show that I had been struck by the incorrectness of the Report.

With respect to the particulars on which you require a statement from me, I say in the first place that I never said the Report was agreed to by a sort of compromise.—I said that it was naturally a question for you to consider when you came into Office whether you would propose a continuance of the Commission, formed as it had been by Sir Robert Peel, or introduce measures of your own, and that if you adopted the former alternative of course no *extreme* measures of reform could be expected. I added something to show that my personal opinion would be against such extreme measures.

With regard to the second point I said that though desirous of carrying the Ecclesiastical Revenues and Duties Bill, I was willing to postpone it to another session, provided a short Bill were carried, suspending appointments to Dignities. This was in conformity with the proposal of Lord Lansdowne, to which the Bishop of Gloucester, as Lord Lansdowne and you told me, attached much importance.

With respect to the third point, I said that to which I had previously got the Assent of the Church Commission, namely, that in order to meet the objection of the Commission being permanent, irremovable, and unconstitutional, I would introduce words, which are used in the

Church Temporalities Act, that two of the Bishops and three lay Commissioners should be removeable by the King in Council under the Sign Manual. The notion of a new nomination by the Crown is entirely without foundation, or is founded in misapprehension.

Having explained what I did say, I must add that in the Commission itself I urged that the Bishoprics of Durham, Ely, and Winchester should be reduced to a par with the others, and that the Deaneries and Canonries should be equalised. These views I abandoned for the sake of unanimity, and the support of the Bishops in the Commission.

His Majesty must no doubt be aware that the majority of the Commission being opposed to us in politics, their proposals are naturally viewed with jealousy by the whole body of our supporters.

Yours faithfully,

J. RUSSELL.

(276) *William Russell to Russell.*

BERLIN, *January 4, 1837.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—A Happy New Year to you and yours and many more to come, and long may you direct with wisdom and justice the home affairs of England.

I am sorry you view my conciliatory efforts here so coldly—however, I will persevere, and then you will be better able to judge of the

soundness of my views and the success of my efforts. I am sanguine of a good result. What is the use of sending a Minister here to be a cypher. Let me put a case. Supposing that our Minister had had any influence here when the Polish revolution broke out, would he have allowed Prussia to have assisted in giving over Poland tied hand and foot to the Russians, from which so many evils have sprung and will spring ; but do not fear that it will compromise the honor of England or the Whigs. I want to elevate your Ministry, and I will if I am not thwarted. Yesterday Prince Witgenstein called on me and told me how much the King valued the Alliance of England. He is the King's friend. Afterwards Prince Radzville called and said the same—he is the P's Royal friend. These you may say are straws and words, but straws shew how the wind blows and from words spring deeds. Home Policy was always the forte of the Whigs and Foreign Policy the foible. I want you to be all forte—but then you must be in earnest and honest. One of the first qualities of a Minister is to know how to choose his instruments and to suit the man to the place. You should have sent to Portugal such a man as Sir Stratford Canning, and not a man who was making butter when a revolution was planning. You should have sent to Spain such a man as Sir William A'Court and not a man who was only known as a Commercial Agent, and you should not have sent a horde of Blackguards to

fight against the Biscayans, the freest people of the Earth, and dishonour the British flag. Don't be angry at these plain truths.

I now want to save the East from the disasters of the West brought on by mismanagement, and have written a letter to-day to Palmerston and sent him some papers, which I hope he will shew you.

Always yours,

W. R.

(277) *The Archbishop of Canterbury to Russell.*

LAMBETH, April 1, 1837.

MY DEAR LORD,—I have circulated your Lordship's letter of the 14th of March among the Commissioners who signed the letter to Lord Melbourne; and I have the honour of informing you that in their opinion there can be no difficulty in respect to going on with the Pluralities Residence Bill, as it had been agreed to by the Commissioners previously to the date of that letter. . . . [The letter continues on the Collegiate Churches, &c.].

(278) *Russell to the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

April, 1837.

MY DEAR LORD,—I have had the honour of receiving your Grace's letter of yesterday.

Since I wrote on the 14th ulto. I have recd. from Mr. Sydney Smith a paper of Remarks on the Pluralities Bill, in several of

which he assures me that your Grace, the Arch^p. of York and the B^p. of London concur. I am likewise prepared to agree to several of them, but I should like to consult your Grace on the subject before the Bill goes into Committee. . . .

Your Grace's faithful, &c.,

J. RUSSELL.

(279) *The King to Russell.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, April 6, 1837.

The King has received Lord John Russell's Letter of Yesterday, from which He has learnt with Satisfaction that the Army Estimates were carried, in spite of the Opposition offered as usual by Mr. Hume, and which was so ably and properly met by Lord Howick.

His Majesty has read with attention the Letter from the Duke of Wellington on the subject of the Militia Staff, and, adverting to a chief ground of the Opinions which it conveys, namely, that the Efficiency of that Staff and the trade in which employed must be necessarily regulated by the Charge which it may be found expedient to incur for that purpose, His Majesty agrees in what is remarked and suggested by His Grace, by which, as a Peace Staff, it would "be rendered capable of performing the essential Service of organization preparatory to Discipline," but His Majesty thinks the proportion of Serjeants should be one to sixty men.

Even, however, with regard to the "preparatory Organization" of the Militia it would seem necessary that the Militia should exist in some Shape, that the Rolls should be kept complete by Ballot and the Efficiency of the Individuals should be ascertained by some sort of Meeting which, to avoid the expense of embodying, might be held in Parishes or Districts.

WILLIAM R.

(280) *Lord Howick to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

W. O. [WAR OFFICE], *April 7, 1837.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—I send you a paper containing my opinion as to the course which may be adopted respecting Canada. I hope that what I propose will meet with your approbation; I confess it is with great difficulty that I have overcome my reluctance to refuse a larger concession to Roebuck, but the meeting of the Working classes has added to the difficulties which would at all events have been great in going as far in this way as I could have wished, and George Grey has pointed out to me some passages in the papers which have been laid before Parliament which I had not recollected and which would have been obstacles to the abolition of the Legislative Council. . . .

Yours very truly,

HOWICK.

(281) *Sir E. Lytton Bulwer to Russell.*

8, CHARLES STREET, May 8, 1837.

I beg to thank you, my dear Lord, for your kind and obliging note. In sending you "Athens" I scarcely expected you ever to find time to read it. I only wished to render some offering to one whose name is indissolubly connected with the Historical Literature of this Country, and who has begun by writing, and progressed by acting, History.

Believe me,

My dear Lord,

With consideration,

Your Lordship's obliged Servant,

E. L. BULWER.

(282) *The Earl of Essex to Russell.*

9, BELGRAVE SQUARE, May 20, 1837.

[After describing the story of some blood-stone-handled knives and forks, now given by Lord Essex to Lord John Russell.]

"it will be most gratifying to me to know that you will receive it, as a token of that affectionate friendship which has subsisted between us, uninterrupted, for so many years, and I assure you it has been the pride of my life to consider myself as a part of your family. Take care of your health, my dear John, for the sake of your family, friends, and country; you are equally dear, as well as necessary to

all. Many have sacrificed their lives by overwork in the cause of injustice and oppression ; preserve yours, I beseech of you, who are so honourably and deeply engaged in the great cause of liberal government, and public good ; that you may long enjoy life, and all the honours and rewards that must accompany yours is the ardent and sincere wish of your truly affectionate friend,

ESSEX.

(283) *William Russell to Russell.*

BERLIN, June 5, 1837.

MY DEAR JOHN,—Many thanks for your letter. Your labours must be so incessant that I hardly expect you to answer. All my correspondents tell me that you are doing admirably, and that the tranquillity and prosperity of England are chiefly owing to the wisdom of your measures and your moderation and firmness in supporting them. I am very anxious however about the Irish question. There you must be firm and not moderate, “Justice to Ireland” has been so long withheld it would be unjust to withhold it any longer.—Patience like other things must have its limits, however I see all the difficulties of your position and trust like others to your judgment. . . .

Affely. yours,

G. W. R.

(284) *Sir Herbert Taylor to Russell.*WINDSOR CASTLE, *June 13, 1837.*

MY DEAR LORD,—. . . This has been on the whole an unsatisfactory day and he does not gain ground. His signature continues good and if there be not too many the exertion appears not to be felt. . . . He was much alive to all I read to him this morning and appeared interested by it.

I have, etc.,

H. TAYLOR.

P.S. The King was asking to-day whether you had recommended any one for the vacancy among the Poor Knights and mentioned particularly Mr. Heurtley adjutant of the Kent Yeomanry who lost an arm and whose other hand is maimed. . . . His Majesty ordered me to send you also the application of W. Lawrence late major of the 13th Dragoons.

(285) *Taylor to Russell.*WINDSOR CASTLE, *June 15, 1837.*

MY DEAR LORD,—I was so much interrupted and hurried this evening that I could not write to your Lordship by post as I had intended to acquaint you that I had submitted your letter of yesterday to the King who appeared much gratified by the terms in which you express yourself about him and ordered me to assure you that He had learnt with concern the ill-

ness of the Duke of Bedford, and that he hoped that he is in a state of progressive recovery.

I sincerely wish I could apply the expression of this hope with confidence to the state of the poor King. . . . Restoration of strength is the important object and I am in despair of that being attained but I may be mistaken.

I have, etc.,

H. TAYLOR.

(286)

WINDSOR CASTLE, *June 19, 1837.*

MY DEAR LORD,—I am favored with your Lordship's letter to which I am replying from the room adjoining that in which the King is, His Majesty having at 12 sent me a kind message which brought me to it, but he has not asked for the same. He is in fact sinking gradually tho' not rapidly and Dr. Chambers does not think there has been any perceptible change in the last 2 hours, tho' it has in the opinion of all become a case of hours. There is still great muscular power. Between 10 and 11 he took leave of his family and soon after sent for me and afterwards for [illegible] and took leave of me also but desired I would submit any business to him and seemed surprised I had none until reminded that it was Monday, more or less a blank morning. The Queen does not leave him.

Under present circumstances, I apprehend it

would not be advisable that you should come here, as you would not probably see the King and your coming might occasion a sensation in this place and elsewhere. Lord Conyngham will proceed to Kensington Palace with the melancholy information of his death whenever it shall occur. . . .

I have the honour to be, my dear Lord,

Yours very faithfully,

H. TAYLOR.

(287) *The Queen to Russell.*

KENSINGTON PALACE, *June 23, 1837.*

The Queen requests Lord John Russell to signify her intention of receiving the Address from the House of Commons at 2 o'clock on Tuesday at Kensington Palace. The Queen would request Lord John Russell to forward the answer that she is to give a little *before that time.*

(288) *The Queen to Russell.*

July 11, 1837.

The Queen received Lord John Russell's communication yesterday evening and requests him to inform the Bishop of London that it is her intention to receive the Holy Sacrament on Sunday next at the Chapel Royal. The Queen will be pleased to patronize the musical meetings mentioned by Lord Russell.

(289) *Sydney Smith to Russell.*

July 14, 1837.

DEAR JOHN,—I write to ask you a question. Did I ever as the condition of my silence and forbearance in the Question of the Ecclesiastical Commission ever ask of you anything for myself which I did not ask for every Prebendary in England or for my Cathedral anything which I did not ask for all the Cathedrals in England? I am not talking of my motives. They may or may not have been purely selfish, but was the thing asked to be exclusive to me and my Cathedral? Pray do me the favour to answer the question.

Ever yours,

SYDNEY SMITH.

(290) *Brougham to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

B. SQUARE, September 6, 1837.

DEAR J. R.,—I send you some remarks upon your observations. Pray attend closely to them—as they are the result of much reflexion and indeed discussion—your remarks coinciding with those of others last Session and partly also in the Session of 1835—and those others having changed their opinion for the most part upon reconsideration—I am however by no means wedded to my own opinion as to any part of the details and only am anxious for full and deliberate consideration before any step is taken.

I send also W. Allen's publication with his *preface*—which I had not received when I sent you the former tract. The preface requires much attentive consideration.

I have not seen the Government pamphlet, but by an extract of it in a newspaper I think it a *most perilous not to say crazy experiment* on the patience of the Reformers and the Liberal party in general.

Allow me to give you a friendly warning—in case the dangerous position of the Government should not have presented itself to your mind. You have a majority of the Lords against you—and the Tories have 317 or 315 but at the very least 310 in the House of Commons ready to vote black white for them and what is more to the purpose, white black against you. You, on the other hand, have a number of capricious—and even ill-disposed supporters—but also a few very conscientious ones—who will not even vote gray, white—much less black—to support you. Get then only into a scrape—and you have a vote of censure as sure as you are alive. I will give you an instance—your own Letter with the Queen's absolute approval of all Mulgrave has done *including his Gaol delivery*. What if the Lords (a judicial kind of body) begin and vote a censure on that? They have a *kind of pretext* for interfering. Then *you must begin in the Commons* and get a vote t'other way. This gives the enemy a great advantage—and you may find while parties are so nicely balanced,

a difficulty in obtaining even a bare majority. This is not perhaps very likely to be tried—because the Tories have mismanaged all questions relating to Ireland. But all this shows how absolutely necessary it is to look to the *country* as well as the “*youthful*” queen.

Yours ever,

H. B.

(291) *Melbourne to Russell.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *September* 15, 1837.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I return you Brougham's letters. I quite agree with him about the publication, which he calls the Government Pamphlet—I have had it contradicted in the Newspapers that it is authorized by the Government and I wish you would contradict it to him and in order that you may do so with truth I will put you in possession of all that passed with me on the subject. The Pamphlet is written by Mr. Squire whom you probably know and who was some time employed by the *Morning Chronicle* in the foreign department.

With respect to our future course I mainly agree in all the first part of your letter with some differences with respect to minor points, which it is unnecessary to advert to at present. But I have a great dislike to making any alteration about the Ballot. I have a great objection

to a change in the grounds upon which the Government was formed. I think our principle should be to hold the ground which we have taken, but not to occupy new ground rashly. I doubt therefore the Policy of it as being an advance in a Radical direction, but more than this, with the strong hostile opinions which the more I think about, I cannot but form I hardly feel justified in giving the question such a lift, as would be given by making it open—I feel certain that it would be inoperative as a remedy for the evils which it is intended to ease and that it would produce many other evils, from which we are at present free.

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

(292) *Melbourne to Russell.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, *September 19, 1837.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have received your letter of the 17th with the enclosures which I return—I think you are well in agreeing to Kennedy and not to the other—not that I think that the introduction of Kennedy will make the Commission work well. It is impossible to be with the Archbishop of Dublin for ten minutes upon affairs without perceiving not only that he can do no business, but that no business can be done where he is.

What you say upon Ballot and upon the Army is highly reasonable. I have no objection to

Vivyan—but you must remember that he would like very well to be Commander in Chief himself.

If you think the first of November will do for our Meeting in London—I will send out Cards for a dinner on that day. When do you positively mean to be at Bowood and how long do you propose to stay?

Yours,

MELBOURNE.

(293) *Melbourne to Russell.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, *September 27, 1837.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I think Mr. Gibson Craig will do very well. I thought you would get a roughish kick from Peel. He is not a horse into whose stall you should go inadvisedly and without speaking to him before. I will tell you about Pendarves' letter; the whole state of local taxation whatever it may be, in both the Duchies should be considered. It is my fixed intention at present to be at Bowood on the 12th and from thence to go to Brighton. But the foreign affairs go very awkwardly and Portugal seems to be falling into the same state of protracted civil war as Spain.

Yours,

MELBOURNE.

(294) *Melbourne to Russell.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, *September 28, 1837.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I return you the letters. There does not appear to me to be any harm

done. Peel's answer is cross and sarcastic, but I take that to be the real nature of the man, and it is only prudence and calculation that ever makes him otherwise—at least that is my estimate of his character.

I yesterday morning received a letter from the Duke of Sussex offering to move the address in the House of Lords—as he offers, it appears to me almost impossible to decline. There are objections—he may be imprudent and it shews a disposition to put himself forward, which may hereafter embarrass, but these considerations do not appear to me to be of sufficient weight to justify so very ungracious an act as it would be to refuse him.

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

(295) *Russell to Melbourne.*

SALTRAM, *October 8, 1837.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,— . . . I think you were wrong in raising the question of 1834 with Ellice. “Bygones are bygones” and “Alors comme alors” are two great maxims in politicks. I disagree entirely with you about 1834. . . . My scheme for the Army is this: Let a commission be formed as follows: Secretary at War, Secretary of State for Colonies, D^o for Home, Commander in Chief, Master of Ordnance. Let all questions relating to numbers, expense, and gov^t of the Army be referred to them, and let

the Departments go on as before, with these exceptions: . . .

Yrs

J. R.

(296) *Memorandum by Russell on Scotch Church Endowment.*

1837[?].

1. That the Bishops' Teinds should be applied in providing for the religious destitution existing in certain Highland and other rural parishes having unexhausted teinds, . . .

[And other provisions for a better distribution of contributed moneys.—ED.]

(297) *Sydney Smith to Russell.*

1837.

. . . I am sorry you have taken such a dislike of Chapter and such a passion for Bishops. You may hate frogs without loving toads. I am sorry that you will not negotiate with me because I think that all this meeting of a parcel of foolish and extravagant [?] and the writing a long pamphlet to be a great bore, and I should be heartily glad to avoid it. But honestly I think this conduct of the Commission to have been unjust and unfair to every branch of the Establishment except the Bishops,—of course you will beat us and do what you please with us. But the Commission is not the best chapter in an excellent government nor the Corner Stone on which your great well-earned reputation will be

built. God bless you dear John. My letter needs no answer.

S. S.

(298) *Russell to Sydney Smith.*

October 15, 1837.

DEAR SYDNEY,—Certainly you never did ask any thing either for yourself or for your Cathedral which you did not ask for all others.

I asked you to forbear for a time as I thought it likely the Church Commission would come to some Resolution which would be generally satisfactory to the Deans & Chapters.

Yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

(299) *Melbourne to Russell.*

PAVILION, October 20, 1837.

MY DEAR JOHN,—The Queen desires me to send you these papers. The Queen also desires me to say that she wishes Lady John and you to dine here to-morrow and Sunday.

I send a letter for Mulgrave. The first part is about a matter already determined—but the end beginning at the 4th sheet about O'Connell's letter is important. It is subject to all the objections he states and many others—particularly it gives weight and probability to the strongest objection against us in that our majority is sure.

Yours,

MELBOURNE.

(300) *William Russell to Russell.*

BERLIN, October 24, 1837.

MY DEAR JOHN,—Sir R. Peel is wandering about Germany. . . . I don't know whether he will come and see me. I suspect that he wants to skip the meeting. The ultras of his party bother him so, that he fears to break bulk. Your contest will be severe, but I cannot doubt of your ultimate success. Yet you must begin by tearing off the Mask of hypocrisy under which your adversaries fight. They are much like the Churchmen in the time of L. 14th who accused Molière when he wrote his "Tartuffe" of attacking the Church—instead of the vices of the Church. How absurd to say you cannot do justice to the Catholics without doing injustice to the Protestants. Calvinistic Prussia does justice to her Catholic subjects, and Catholic Austria does justice to her Protestant subjects. Why then is not England to do likewise? All parties and persons on the Continent say you are right and wonder at the opposition of the Tories. Let me hear from you before you get involved in Parliamentary business?

Affy. yours,

G. W. R.

(301) *Spencer to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

November 14, 1837.

[This letter refers to Russell's decision and declaration, in what Mr. Greville called by the

agreement of all parties an incomparable speech wherein he regarded the Reform Bill as final; he was bound in honour to retire rather than take part in a further measure so soon after the pledge given to Ministers in 1832.]

MY DEAR JOHN,— . . . I am delighted to hear your determination but not surprized. I hope and trust you will swim, but if you go down it must be with colours flying.

Yours most truly,

SPENCER.

(302) *Memorandum to the Cabinet by Russell concerning Election Petitions.*

November 25, 1837.

Lord John Russell submits to his colleagues the following outline of measures to be adopted, in respect to election petitions, applicable to the present cases, if absolutely necessary, but at all events to be introduced as an improvement on the present law.

1. The Lord Chancellor, the two Chief Justices, and the Chief Baron to name each three Barristers properly qualified, but of the list of each the Speaker to name one, making in all four.

2. The same Judges in like manner to name one person each, out of whom the Speaker to chuse a President of the Court.

3. The said five to form a Court, sitting in London for England, Scotland (qy) and Ireland.

4. The Court to judge of election petitions.
5. In case of a scrutiny of votes being granted, the Court, on the demand of either party to appoint a Commissioner, to go to the place of election, to decide each case, and to report with the notes of evidence to the Court.
6. The Court after hearing each party, but without further evidence, to confirm or disallow the decisions of the Barrister.
7. The Court, by its separate members, to make Circuits, so as to visit each place in the three Kingdoms once in three years, not for the purpose of admitting new votes, but of correcting the Register—any subsequent scrutiny can then be applicable only to new votes.
8. Revising Barristers in future not to strike off any name upon the Register, unless the party is dead, or qualification changed since registration.

(303) *William Russell to Russell.*

BERLIN, *December 5, 1837.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I must write to say how delighted I am with your speeches on Reform: every word you have uttered has my perfect approbation. The violence of the language of the Tories and Radicals is the greatest eulogium you could receive, and a convincing proof of your being right. A Statesman builds for futurity, the abuse of the day is like the scaffolding which will be removed and forgotten when

the building is complete, so you need not care a straw about the Newspapers. In Galignani's extracts your name is in every line. Your speeches have given the greatest pleasure *here*, and have besides surprised and astonished people, who in their ignorance took you for a republican—a Cromwell—an idea put about and encouraged by our *dearest* friends, many of whom I could name. All my Colleagues here are confounded at the bold and strong attitude of the Ministry, and are beginning to be more courteous to me. Sir G. Hamilton who nourishes himself with the *Times* told them the Tories *must come in*, and they believed him. Louis Philippe and his Agents are sneaking back to us—our triumph is complete.

I have got here Robert Owen of Lanark ; he is a real Radical—the others are poor creatures compared to him.

I send you a note from my friend Prince Radzville on your speech and another from old Bob—burn them.

My Father invites me to go and see him at Nice, I should like well to run down there if Palmerston was agreeable, but I don't like to ask him—although there is positively nothing to do here—I am always at Potsdam shooting wild duck. Tell me what you think of Nice, and sound Palmerston about it.

Love to your Wife.

Affec.

G. W. R.

(304) *The Duchess of Kent to Russell.*

CONFIDENTIAL.

December 12, 1837.

MY LORD,—In the hope that it may be your Lordship's duty to execute the Queen's wishes in the Commons, it has occurred to me that the accompanying Memorandum may be of use to you. It was drawn up and given to me, it contains facts only, but with many kind constructions, which I wished to deserve. Believe me, always to be, with great regard and esteem,

Your lordship's very sincere friend,

VICTORIA.

[42 pp. of writing inclosed giving an account of the family, upbringing, resources, and events in the Duchess of Kent's and Queen Victoria's life.]

(305) *Melbourne to Russell.**DOWNING STREET, December 29, 1837.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—The Queen desires me to say that she will be delighted to see the little girl and would be very happy if Lady John would bring the baby also. The Queen wishes you and Lady John to come on the 8th and to stay till the 11th.

Our course about Canada must be clear and decided. I have had —¹ with me and also Mr. — Gillespie and — representatives of

¹ Illegible.

the English party. The former is for abolishing the legislative Council, the latter are for governing for a certain time without an Assembly—Adieu.

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

(306) *Melbourne to Russell.*

SOUTH STREET, *December 31, 1837.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—We must determine upon a decided line with respect to Canada—Gosford's last despatches and the state of the Country without any despatches absolutely require it. We must either take such measures as are necessary and adequate for the occasion, or if we cannot take them, we must resign the Government to those who have a better chance of being able to do so. I have the greatest possible dislike to the Government's breaking up either in consequence of internal disunion, which can never be made either intelligible or satisfactory to the country, at a time of national difficulty and danger, which always looks like fear and shirking from responsibility. But there may be no help for it.

The great majority of the Cabinet are for repealing [?] Act, and the general opinion is, that this is the only measure which has any semblance of being permanently efficient.

Some would prefer temporarily suspending the Constitution of 1791.

The great majority of the Cabinet are I believe against uniting any measure of a conciliating character with the greater measures, which all admit to be necessary.

I have very little doubt that if either of the two first courses is adopted and if the third is rejected Howick will resign. I have sent to desire to see him to-day, but from what I hear of his language I have little hope of instituting any change in his determination—for this event you must therefore be prepared.

It appears to be necessary that Glenelg should make a decided proposition to the Cabinet on Wednesday, and it is highly desirable that this proposition should be such as to command the most general agreement. I am anxious therefore to hear from you your opinion not later than Tuesday morning in order that I may settle with Glenelg finally what he is to propose—Adieu.

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

(307) *The Queen to Russell.*

January 17, 1838.

The Queen returns the copy of the answer to the address of the House of Commons [as to the revolt in Canada] which she quite approves of, as she is not aware if she may keep *this* copy.

*Memorandum on Canada.**January, 1838. ?*

The difference between adopting the suspension of the Habeas Corpus and the suspension of the Charter of 1791 is as follows :—

According to the first course—

1. The power of the Executive is limited to what is necessary.

2. No infringement is made on the Constitution itself.

According to the second course—

1. The Executive may make any laws of any kind : may establish torture, secret trial, or any form of tyranny.

2. The well-disposed Canadians, who may be considered as represented by Lord Gosford's Executive Council, may be alienated and driven into the mass of rebellion.

3. But, on the other hand, the Executive will be far stronger, both for punishment and reward, than it would otherwise be.

I should therefore say—

If Sir John Colborne, or a Governor of his stamp, is to remain in authority, the first course is the best.

If Lord Durham or Sir James Kempt will go to Canada, the second course—namely, the suspension of the Constitution of 1791—may be adopted.

What you must lay your account for is, that no means will be given by the Canadian Assembly to carry on the government in future.

This is only to be remedied either by taking the means now, out of the taxes of Canada, or repealing Lord Ripon's Act, or by giving authority to an Assembly of the whole British provinces to do the same thing.

I do not much care which is done, but the thing itself must be effected.

Upon the whole, then, I should recommend the following measures, partly legislative and partly executive :—

1. That the Constitutional Act of 1791 should be suspended until Parliament shall otherwise determine ; or that the Habeas Corpus Act be suspended for two years.

2. That the Governor be instructed, on the restoration of tranquillity, to call together, either united or separately, such of the Members of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly who have sate therein during the last ten years, and who shall not have been involved in any charge of treason, misprision of treason, or sedition, and to propose to them the heads or bases of alterations to be proposed in the Constitutional Act of 1791.

3. That the Governor be empowered to call together an Extraordinary Assembly of the Deputies from the British North American Colonies to advise concerning any Act of Parliament, named in the writ of summons, which may require alteration or modification (in case of the failure of former proposition).

4. If the Habeas Corpus Act only is sus-

pended, the Governor must have the power of disposing of a sufficient revenue for the Civil List, either by the repeal of L^d Ripon's Act or by the appropriation of £50,000 a year of Canadian revenue, till there is a permanent settlement.

(308) *William Russell to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

BERLIN, *February 28, 1838.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I cannot tell you how delighted I am at the manly stand you have made against the Ballot, it would in my opinion be quite inefficacious as a remedy against bribery and intimidation and would destroy the characters of Englishmen, certainly of the Liberal party. What pitiful figures we should cut, sneaking up to the ballot box, looking with fear to the right and the left and dropping in our paper, the contents of which we are afraid or ashamed to acknowledge. Whilst the Tory comes forward like a Man and like an Englishman and says openly and fearlessly who he votes for. I would rather never give a vote than give a concealed vote—the desire to conceal the votes is a bad sign of the times. However you have done good service in preventing us from being Hypocrites and I thank you.

Ever affy. yrs.

G. W. R.

(309) *The Queen to Russell.**April 28, 1838.*

The Queen does not see the slightest objection to soldiers being admitted with the rest of the Public into the garden of St. James's Park. On the contrary the Queen quite agrees with Lord John that this distinction should be done away with.

(310)

[A long letter, dated June 3, 1838, by Lord Melbourne on the Peers to be created, their various claims, and the objection to the promotion of Peers to higher rank, causing numerous claims to equal promotions, contained the following sentence: "If we go upon the principle of not vacating Seats, which it is evidently necessary to do, we must vacate none," and suggesting three means of obviating the difficulty.]

(311) *The Queen to Russell.**June 29, 1838.*

The Queen quite approves of what Lord John proposes relative to the Fair in Hyde Park.

She is thankful for Lord John's enquiries and is happy to say that she is not the least tired by the fatigues of yesterday. The Queen is much gratified to know that no accident of importance has occurred. The crowd was greater than the Queen ever saw, and everyone in such perfect

good humour. The Queen must say it was a very great day for her.

(312) *The Speaker, Mr. Abercromby, to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

Dated by Lord J. R. : "The Speaker,
Canada Debate, August 14, 1838."

You have done two things. You have made the best speech I ever heard you make and worthy of a Minister in such difficult circumstances. You have done more than I thought possible to extricate Lord Melbourne from a difficulty of the most harmful and serious character, for I never could see how he would [nominate?] himself to remain in office when he could not *depend* in public on a person in so very serious a situation as Lord Durham.

(313) *Russell to Melbourne.*

August 16, 1838.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I wish you would turn your serious attention to the present distribution of our forces. Canada is a continual drain for troops. . . . We are making a demonstration in Spain which appears to be endless. . . . I am very strongly of opinion that our force in the North of Spain ought to be reduced, that two or three ships, with about a dozen artillerymen is the utmost we ought to furnish. . . .

This appears to me the moment to decide, and I wish you would speak to Palmerston, Minto and Rice on the subject.

Be assured that Canada cannot be left without a strong force for some years. . . .

I remain yours faithfully

J. RUSSELL.

(314) *The Speaker, Mr. Abercromby, to Russell.*

August 20, 1838.

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—You are very right in thinking that I shrink from an act which might injure the Liberal party and expose me to reproach. I work also for that which I think is the best for the Throne, believing that much turns on the conduct of the Commons in the times that may come. I have told Lord Melbourne that if he satisfies himself that it is safe and good for his party to try Rice, and still more if he wishes to reconstruct his Cabinet and can make my place useful in the arrangement, then my resignation is unreservedly in his hands. If neither of these things happens then I will [?] the Session if he wishes it, but that I will not pledge myself to go to the end of it. It would be imprudent to do that, after what I have felt during the last month. I have said that of all these events the one that will give me the greatest pleasure is the new modelling of the Government. I see all the difficulties that must be encountered, but I see still more

strongly all the dangers to the interests of the Liberal party from *not* doing it. I see that the Irish attach no importance to Davis' threat of agitation. They think that it has been done either for the sake of the rent or to prevent others from occupying the ground.

Yours very truly,

J. ABERCROMBY.

(315) *Russell to Melbourne.*

RYDE, September 3, 1838.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,— . . . What Durham says agrees much with what I wrote to you yesterday. But where I think our Government always failed is that they allowed the French no part of the patronage, and nearly all the power. They ought to have little power, but a fair share of patronage.

I will be at Windsor Castle on the 12th, and propose to stay the 13th and 14th, and go to Woburn or Oakley on the 15th.

Y^{rs} truly,

J. RUSSELL.

We leave this on Saturday for Brighton.

RYDE, September 6, 1838.

(316) *Russell to Melbourne.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,— . . . If we must have a new person [rather than Colborne, if Lord Durham retires from the Governorship of Canada,] I believe that perhaps a Tory will be

the best, for then the Tories will not cabal against him and we shall be bound to stand by him. . . . [Concerning Lord Glenelg, who had asked for another regiment for Canada.] I have consented, but I have no fancy for transferring the attack from him to myself. . . . I shall be blamed and be at a loss how to defend myself. Our Empire grows every day internally and becomes every day more difficult to controul. . . . I hope you will be able to give me a satisfactory answer about this when I go to Windsor. [Concerning the proposed Botanic Garden in Regent's Park.] . . . I should like to economize in Racing Plates, to have a scientific collection of Plants.

Yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

(317) *Palmerston to Russell.*

WINDSOR, *October 1, 1838.*

MY DEAR JOHN RUSSELL,—Melbourne has shewn me your Two letters of the 27 and 29 ulto about Persia. The Bulletin you sent him was certainly calculated to make you suppose that McNeil had declared that "the Dynasty of the Shah had ceased to reign," but it gave an incorrect Representation of the matter. These Bulletins are difficult Things to make out, as they are abstracts from voluminous Papers. They must be sent off at once, be copied for each absent Minister, and are an additional duty

at a time when from usual leaves of absence the office is weakest. Mistakes therefore will sometimes happen in them. My Instruction of May to McNeil was read to the Cabinet, and directed him to say to the Shah that his attack on Affghanistan was at variance with the Principles of our alliance, and that we should, without Reference to any particular stipulations of the Treaty of 1814, take whatever Measures the Security of our own Territories might render necessary.

McNeil is far the ablest man we have ever had in Persia, and few men understand better than he does the Bearing of Persian affairs upon our Interests in India. He knows the Persians well, and is as good a Judge as anybody can be of the best mode of dealing with them.

The Matter in Question is of great Importance, for it is Manifest that the Success of the Shah in Affghanistan would be full of danger and embarrassment to us in India; and that consequently it would tend greatly to our Security, to get the Shah back again into his own Dominions. He is in this matter acting avowedly as the Tool of Russia; and the Proceedings of Russia in Affghanistan are certainly as direct an approach to British India as it is *at present* in her Power to make. She has opened her first Parallels, and it would not be wise in us to delay defensive measures till she has reached the glaciis. Auckland and his advisers seem to be of this opinion, but we do

not as yet know what Course they mean to pursue. I am against McNeil's suggested march of 5,000 Men from Bushire to Ispahan and Teheran; I think that if any real movement of Troops should become necessary, such movement would for very many Reasons be better made in Affghanistan itself.

But the occupation of Carrack and the landing at Busheer, if it should take Place, may as a diversion in the Rear of the Shah, compel him to give up his attack, and may thus effect our object at less Expence and with less Trouble than if we pushed on Runjeet Sing aided by a Body of the Company's Troops through Affghanistan.

I wish you would send for McNeil's Despatches and read them through. I think you will acquit him of Impetuosity or violence, and be rather of opinion that he has acted with Discretion and Judgment; certainly he has not acted with Haste or without Reflection. It is very difficult to give to Persons so far off precise Instructions as to Conduct; because the Events upon which you found such Instructions are five or six Months old, when the Instructions are received, and new Circumstances may have quite altered the case. But I believe Hobhouse has written to Auckland to explain why we should not like to embark in a forward movement into the Interior of Persia. That our Force must be small, liable to be overpowered if Russia were to throw away the Scabbard and

go and attack us ; that in such Case we should be in a worse Condition than if we had not made the attempt ; That if we succeed, and Russia stands aloof, we should excite to Rebellion against the Shah Quantities of men whom we must afterwards abandon, and could not effectually protect ; That our object is not to dethrone the Shah, but to strengthen him, provided only he will leave the Affghans alone ; and that an Invasion of his Territory tends to weaken if not to dethrone him. That on the contrary any forward movement into Affghanistan would, if successful, be clear gain, as we should permanently retain any advantage we might gain, and should thus make a permanent Barrier for India. That our Chance of Success would be much greater because there we are strong and Persia weak, and Russia would not there come to the aid of Persia. She might join Persia to repel an invasion from without ; She would not join Persia to assist Persia in invading and conquering a neighbour, if that neighbour is defended by England ; at the same Time the Movement in Affghanistan might require a greater effort and a larger Expence, while the mere leading Troops to Busheer, if they went no further, would be comparatively easy and cheap. Hobhouse was to say to Auckland that the Government is sure he will have adopted the Course which he and his Counsellors will have thought on the whole best, and that he will be supported.

My own belief is that our Demonstration, together with the Gallant Resistance of the People of Herat, will have induced the Shah to abandon the Siege and retire, and if that should be the Result we shall have had a good Escape, and shall then be able to enter into alliance with the Affghans and make with them the proper arrangements for their future Security and our own.

Yours sincerely,

PALMERSTON.

(318) *Durham to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

QUEBEC, *October 12, 1838.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—Your letter of the 18th August only reached me yesterday, in consequence of its having been sent by a Merchant-ship direct here—the consequence was that I received the letters and Despatches of the 7th Sept. a fortnight earlier.

You have most correctly comprehended the difficulty of my position—and will have seen by my Despatches 66 and 68 the grounds on which I have been compelled to take the decision, the possibility of which you, with such perspicacity, anticipated.

If the overt acts in England had merely been the speeches of Lord Brougham in the Lords and the passing of his Bill *there*, my Government would not have been damaged. The support

of the Ministry, and the consequent rejection of the Bill in the Commons, would have left me as strong as I was in the estimation of the people here. But when, by the disallowance of the ordinance by the Ministers, there became arrayed against me the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons—as well as the Ministry, the blow to my authority was fatal and irreparable.

Now that I am going, the universal sympathy and feeling of regret which prevails amongst all classes, gives no occasion for difference of opinion on political or provincial matters. But, if I had determined on remaining, every act of my Government would have been disputed by each party, accordingly as they disapproved of the measure. French and English alternately, as they were pleased or displeased, would have denied all permanent obedience, and appealed to the Imperial Parliament,—when they would, from past experience, have been justified in expecting censure and disavowal of me.

I had no course to pursue, in these circumstances, but to transfer the scene of action from Quebec to London.

I do not conceal from you that my feelings have been deeply wounded by the conduct of the Ministry—from you, however, and you alone of them all, have I received any cordial support personally, and I feel, as I have told you in a former letter, very grateful to you.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

DURHAM.

(319) *Russell to Melbourne.*

BRIGHTON, October 18, 5 o'clock.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—Since I wrote my letter of this day I have received the newspapers, containing the account of Durham's resignation. No one can say he is not justified by the course of the House of Lords on the Indemnity Bill. But it is a serious matter. I still think Sir John Colborne must remain as Governor, and I certainly would not advise any Whig or Liberal of any description to accept the office.

. . . I think you should send for Ellice directly, and consult him as to what is to be done. I see he or some one of his opinions has been sneering at Durham in the *M^g Chronicle*.

I still think Glenelg should have the Comptrollership. That is a step in which our best friends would concur.

If Durham would be Lord Lieut. of Ireland, it would be a good thing. If you thought so, Palmerston might hold the seals till his arrival in London.

Y^{rs} truly,

J. RUSSELL.

Upon the whole, I believe the best arrangement would be to make Rice Sec^y of the Colonies with a peerage, and to insist upon Ellice's taking the office of Chanc^r of the Exchequer, leaving other moves at present.

(320) *Russell to Melbourne.*BRIGHTON, *October 22, 1838.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I am glad to find I was not immediately required. . . . I have been reading Durham's dispatches very attentively and there is one conclusion to which they clearly lead me. It is that whether he is induced to stay, or another person is appointed, it is necessary that Parliament should be assembled before Christmas.

1. You will observe that he refuses altogether to accept and exercise the power which we authorised and advised him to exercise. He proposes to leave the whole of the persons engaged in the late insurrection at large, subject only to the fear of a trial by jury, which he says "exists only to defeat the ends of justice, and to provoke the righteous scorn and indignation of the community." He is ready to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act only in case of "notorious" preparations for insurrection. He tells you that he has no reliance on the Government, but must look to the Opposition likewise, for a construction of any Act he may pass. In short, he decides, I will not say wilfully, but deliberately, to abridge his power as much as possible, and leave himself as little means as possible of sustaining the Queen's authority.

2. These doubts and uncertainties have been fairly raised by the conduct of the House of Lords, and of Sir W. Follitt in the House of

Commons. The Ministry and Lord Durham together might have set them at naught, but the Ministry alone has not force enough to do so.

3. They have been spread throughout the Colony, not only by the report of the debates, but by the declaration of L^d Durham, that his authority was so weaken'd that he must resign. Of course if he is weaken'd, Papineau's party will consider themselves strengthen'd.

4. Both L^d Durham's accounts, and those of Mr. Fox, speak of fresh preparations for revolt—revolt against an abdicating Governor, and a shaken authority.

All these circumstances together convince me that it is absolutely necessary to call upon Parliament to put some clear and defined sense upon the Act they have passed—to say, that the Governor shall have power with his Council to pass laws for keeping suspected persons in custody, and for bringing before an impartial tribunal traitors and murderers, or he shall not. If they confirm the requisite powers, the mischief of Lord Brougham's Bill will be repaired. If they do not, let them be responsible for the refusal, and its consequences.

I wish you would shew this letter to Glenelg, and to Rice. I agree that Durham should be asked to remain on public grounds. Whether he will do so, or not, is more than any one can tell. Nothing is more uncertain than the predictions of what individuals will do in particular circumstances. But as I see he only speaks of

coming home by the end of the year, he will no doubt wait for the effect of his announcement here as well as in N. America. . . .

Y^{rs} truly,

J. RUSSELL.

(321) *Russell to Melbourne.*

BRIGHTON, *October 23, 1838.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,— . . . I return your letters. Lansdowne is very good. C. Buller is right when he says there was a want of explanation when the Ordinances were sent. . . . Durham and Ellice have both of them the fault of thinking that all is to be done by newspapers. Yet what more absurd than a Governor and his intimate friend firing paragraphs at each other across the Atlantic. It cannot come to good and I should not wonder if that unlucky *Morning Chronicle* should make Durham persist in his original intention of resigning. . . .

I am more and more convinced of the necessity of meeting Parliament. I should summon it for the 20th or 22nd of November, . . . proceed with a Bill "to provide for the security of the Province of Lower Canada." . . . [Details follow.]

I agree with you that it will be as well that the Queen should not ask Durham to stay, though not on the general grounds you put it. I have had a most gracious and kind letter from Her Majesty.

Yours ever,

J. RUSSELL.

(322) *Spencer to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *October 23, 1838.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—Between you and me honour is certainly too formal a word to use, but some word is wanting to express what I feel in telling you that I accept most willingly your proposal. Honour ought to be included in the meaning of the word, but it must include other feelings more gratifying than honour of any kind would be to me in order to express what I should like to say to you upon so very kind a suggestion. Pray thank Lady John for me also.

Yours most truly,

SPENCER.

(323) *Russell to Melbourne.*

BRIGHTON, *October 25 [1838].*

I return Ellice's letter and enclosure. His correspondent hits upon exactly the same remedy which occurred to me, viz., 10 years of a Gov^r and Council—but he adds it is impossible, and so I suppose it is.

If you had proposed a complete despotism, and had not named a man like Durham at the head of it, our friends would hardly have agreed, as they did.

I was against the suspension of the Constitution, but was overruled.

I think you cannot leave the English to have

their throats cut with impunity by the Canadian habitants.

Lady John is rather better, but mends very slowly, and I do not like to leave her at present.

Y^{rs}

J. RUSSELL.

You will see Lansdowne is quite against me.

I have answer'd Durham's letter, merely saying that if I had been in the Lords I should have done no better than my colleagues there, that I retain my opinion, that if the Colony supports him he will do well to stay.

Normanby is indignant at the notion of our truckling to Durham.

(324) *Mrs. (Elizabeth) Villiers to Russell.*

RAVENSWORTH CASTLE, November 4, 1838.

DEAR LORD JOHN,— . . . God Almighty strengthen and comfort you, dear Lord John. Your trial is the severest to which our nature is subject: . . . Never was a kinder better husband and father than yourself, and I believe nothing could be more complete than poor Adelaide's happiness during the few joyful years she spent with you. . . . You restored her from a state of solitary suffering to even more than her former happiness, you adopted all her children as your own, and by your kindness and judicious management of them relieved her mind from every anxiety. All this was a trial of love

that few men are exposed to, and fewer still would have met as you have done; *none* could have surpassed you. In the perfect fulfilment of the duties and charities of life there is peace, that peace which passeth understanding, and that God may abundantly shed such on you is the heartfelt prayer of yours very sincerely

ELIZABETH VILLIERS.

(325) *Memorandum.*

November 12, 1838.

. . . The Bill for the registration of electors, the Prison Bill, the Irish Municipal Bill, some Scotch Bills which were lost last year should be brought in with the least possible alteration and pushed into the House of Lords.

The Committee on Church Leases should be renewed, and Vernon Smith desired now to prepare a Report, . . . the Church Dignities Bill, then . . . a measure for the general Education of the People. . . . [8 or 10 sail of the Line may have to be added to the Fleet.] [Taxes may have to be imposed, and danger to the Government incurred, rather than the Navy be weak and dispersed.]

(326) *Russell to Melbourne.*

CASSIOBURY, November 28, 1838.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I will prepare the plan for Education as soon as I can. But I do

not think it should be brought forward early in the session, and upon this subject as upon others, it will be useful to have the report of the Committee on Church Leases first made.

I am always of opinion that when a man has deserved very well of the Government or of the party, they should be prepared to suffer some loss, and run some risk, to gratify him. This is the case with George Grey, and therefore when Parl^t meets (Macaulay continuing in the same mind) I should make him Judge Advocate.

I have no objection to Palmerston's making some communication to Russia about her fleet, tho' I must observe, 1. It is made late, and therefore less likely to be successful. 2. It will be necessary not to bind ourselves with respect to our own force, the Naval being our principal arm, and we having to consider other powers, and their strength at sea, as well as Russia. Still, a friendly representation may do good, tho' it may not altogether preclude the necessity for strengthening our Navy.

I see by a printed paper from Glenelg that L^d Hill is pushing hard to have the Army increased. What he says of the troops in the dockyard towns is true, but if we increase the Marines, we shall attain the object of lessening their duties and have the Marines ready to go out in a Channel fleet in the summer months. Thus a number of guard ships might be made efficient for the Home station.

I agree in what you state of the alarm that

may be raised by a large increase of the Navy. Yet we added, I think, 8 sail of the line, two years ago, without any stir at all. On the other hand, the disappointment and reproach may be considerable.

On the subject of Belgium, I send you a letter from William, in which you must make allowance for a brother's partiality. I do not know whether his opinion is a right one, not knowing the opinion of Louis Philippe, Molé, or the French generally. If the two former want an excuse, and can make it go down with the Chamber, and public, the signature of a treaty will be the best thing. You and Palmerston can best judge how far we should be safe. I should not care a rush for the vapouring of the Belgian deputies—they are leather and prunella.

I shall be in London the whole month of January to prepare for what is to come.

Y^{rs} ever,

J. RUSSELL.

There is a brother of Christ's Hospital dead. Unless you wish for it I shall fill up the vacancy.

(327) *Russell to Melbourne.*

CASSIOBURY, December 2, 1838.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I am very sorry to see this news from Canada in the newspapers. It will do all sorts of mischief, and shews what it is to let the Lords have their own way. Of

course any troops required must be sent to Halifax, tho' I hope we are strong enough in that quarter.

I have no doubt you were justified in ordering an increase of the army by the state of Colonial and Foreign affairs. But there is nothing in the state of G^t Britain or Ireland to require more troops, and had not the Colonies required an increase of troops I should have been quite satisfied to have gone with our present force. What Lord Hill says in his paper concerning Ireland is untrue. I will write to Morpeth to get an account of the number of times detachments have been called out this year in aid of the Civil power. In England if we cannot do with our present force we cannot do at all, tho' I should have objected to the Colonies draining the force still lower than it is at present.

What you say about prosecutions for words is very important, and if the fact be as you say, decisive, or almost so, against attempting them. I shall direct prosecutions however for illegal meetings, and all this outrageous language will swell the charge—I mean, should they be continued.

I am going to send Sir F. Roe and Maule of the Treasury down to Todmorden.

I suppose you will hardly send a Governor to Canada to supersede Colborne, while he is in the midst of an insurrection.

I have a great mind to write to Warburton about O'Connell's movements, pointing out the

objections to the course he is pursuing. Have you any objection?

Y^{rs}

J. RUSSELL.

(328) *Russell to Melbourne.*

December 12, 1838.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I agree with Tavis-
tock in laying upon Pitt the fault of the Corn
Laws and every other difficulty we have or shall
have. The measures were (1) 500 millions of
debt (2) a bad currency; (3) bad poor laws
(4) a bad law for Canada (5) Swamping the
House of Lords. And his faults of omission were
about equal to those of commission. . . . How-
ever one has the satisfaction of thinking that
a country which has survived being governed
by Pitt must last for ever.

(329) *Palmerston to Russell.*

STAN. STREET, December 15, 1838.

MY DEAR JOHN RUSSELL,—I return you the
letter from Howick which I ought to have sent
you back sooner. McNeil and Auckland have
cut the knot which Howick feared to untie.
What he says of the real weakness of Russia for
aggressive war is quite true; but the knowledge
of that fact ought rather to encourage us to make
a stout stand against her systematic encroach-
ments on Peace; as we ought to be convinced
that she is always pushing on as far and as fast

as she can go without war ; but that whenever she finds that perseverance in encroachment will lead to forcible resistance, she will pull up and wait for some more favourable opportunity of carrying on her schemes.

Yours sincerely,

PALMERSTON.

(330) *William Russell to Russell.*

BERLIN, *December 19, 1838.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I am delighted that in pursuance of my wishes you went to town—privately because *quand l'âme est abattu il faut le secouer*, publicly because it has had the best effect. The funds rose, public confidence was strengthened and the Protocol was signed—whether at your instigation or not I don't know, but it was signed at a most opportune moment, for the language of Germany became so war-like it would not have been easy to have controlled it. The Protocol has made the troubled waters subside into their former calm. Palmerston has concluded the negotiations with great ability and extraordinary patience. Were I to criticise him I should say that he attended too much to the Hollando-Bel question and too little to the European question, for it had there two bearings, which should have been carried forward breast to breast, *pari passu*. He allowed the latter to be forgotten until the cry of Germany brought it to his recollection. I should also

say that Palmerston allowed much time to be consumed uselessly. He should have signed the treaty at the Coronation when every body was in good humour and no difficulties would have been made. The stipulations of the treaty would long ere this have been executed, the whole thing forgotten and Europe as quiet as a pond. The delay has put in motion bad passions, ambition, hatred, longing for War &c. and nothing has been gained. However, you will have the Treaty to present to Parliament, and it will be a brilliant feather in your caps. Palmerston is certainly a very clever man, but he has no foresight, and no resolution. He allows an evil to gather before he combats it, and then he combats it feebly. He does not know the weight of the enormous Power he wields, he loses his strength on trifles and details when he should only come into the field on great occasions, and then to pronounce an irrevocable decision. Another fault he has is that of employing very silly agents, and giving to them all his confidence. The consequence is that he remains in great ignorance of the real state and feeling of Europe. But I ought not to criticise my chief, so let this be *entre nous*.

France will come round to us. There can be no doubt of it. I know my friend Louis Philippe better than you do. I send you an article written in the Paris Foreign Office which is to prepare the public mind for the Treaty.

My political position here is perfect. I doubt whether any English Minister ever stood so well

at the Court of Berlin as I do. When I came here, I had cruel uphill work to keep my ground. I am now at the top of the tree. This I owe partly to my own straight forward course, partly to the wise course of your Cabinet, and partly to my being your Brother, for they have here the greatest admiration of your conduct on the various difficult questions you have had to meet. Eichhorn, the most enlightened of the Ministers here, told me, squeezing my hand, that Prussia had no wish beyond that of being on good terms with England. The Prince Royal sent to me to say the same. This is all very well, and we will keep our influence asleep until the moment of exercising it arrives.

Durham is judged very harshly here. They look upon him as a man who has fled from the field the day before the Battle, and say he should be impeached. It is much better that Colbourne should direct affairs. Nothing like an enlightened Soldier on trying occasions. They are calm, resolute and don't care a fig for popularity.

Ever My dear John

Most aff^y. yrs.

G. W. R.

(331) *Tavistock to Russell.*

December 29, 1838.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I am pleased to think that you approve of my defence on your Appro-

priation Question, and I thank you for your long and interesting letter.

I have always considered the Ballot as the most difficult subject you would have to deal with. Your position is most embarrassing, and I cannot see how you can possibly escape from it without considerable and even imminent danger both to the Whig party and the country at large as well as to your own influence. I confess that I often wish that you were *well* out of the mess. If Tory principles and measures are to be adopted, I had rather see them in the hands of Tory Ministers than yours. . . . It will require all the wisdom and courage you can muster to steer your course well. . . . Althorp says there may be circumstances in which a Minister may be called upon to sacrifice *every thing*, even his character [reputation] for the public interests. Is this a case in point? . . . Althorp thinks that the more you work the less you will suffer. God grant that this may be the case. . . .

Afftely. yours

T.

(332) *Duncannon to Russell.*

Saturday.

MY DEAR JOHN,—Since you spoke to me yesterday I have taken some trouble to inquire in consequence of what occurred on Thursday evening what is the feeling of the House of

Commons, I mean those who support us—I am confident that there was no real want of kindness towards yourself. You have been long enough in Parliament to know what excitement always takes place in these petty questions, and this in particular has always created great interest, and the announcement of a victory on it produced that ebullition which everybody says was quite disgraceful. Of this however I am quite sure that both in the House and out of it among even the most Radical the feeling towards you is much better than it was last year, when as you know they took ill some expression of yours about the landed interest—all that has subsided, and you may be assured I would not deceive you upon it if I did not know what I say is so.

Truly yours,

D.

I think you set Ebrington's cases quite right last night.

(333) *William Russell to Russell.*

BERLIN, *January 8, 1839.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I beg your acceptance as a New Year's gift of a very pretty service of old Dresden China painted by the famous bird painter Vindhers (?). It is a complete dinner service for six, and when you retire from your laborious office six friends are as many as you will wish to see at your table. I have sent by this Courier two plates as specimens, and the

remainder of the service will go by the ordinary conveyance.

I cannot tell you how high we stand at this moment on the Continent ; had we given way to Belgium we should have been disgraced for ever.

I hope you will be equal to the arduous duties you have before you—the Corn law is an awful question—it is in my opinion founded in error, injustice and avarice. The manufacturers of Germany which are now pushing us out of the Levant and the American Markets have been forced into existence by our Corn laws. Palmerston has been doing things well of late.

Ever affy. yours,

G. W. R.

(334) *Russell to Melbourne.*

PRIVATE.

February 2, 1839.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—Your letter obliges me to enter into explanations which I would willingly have kept within my own breast.

I have represented to you for at least a year that I could not feel satisfied with the conduct of our Colonial affairs. At last I reproached myself with the pertinacity of this representation to you, and felt, I know not why, that I was punished by affliction and misery for busying myself too much in these arrangements of office. But Howick's opposition has raised my former objections into full vigour.

However, be it as you please. I shall give in my resignation next week, and state that I thought the destinies of our Colonial Empire could no longer be continued in their present hands without imminent peril, that nothing but the utmost energy and activity are equal to the present emergency, and that, not finding them to exist where they ought to be found, I am compelled to leave office.

Y^{rs}

J. RUSSELL.

(335) *Russell to Melbourne.*

February 3, 1839.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I send you Howick's answer. I can only suggest that you would make the letter less painful to Glenelg if you stated in the first instance that modifications of the Cabinet had been looked for very generally through the recess, that one of the changes most desired was to see Morpeth in the Cabinet, which cannot be while Normanby remains in Ireland, and then go on to inform him that while no one doubts his abilities, his conscientious desire to perform his duty, or the purity of his administration of the Colonies, that at *this time* peculiar energy and promptitude are required, etc. . . . But if you do not like all this, I am quite satisfied with the letter as it stands.

Yours,

J. R.

(336) *Palmerston to Russell.*STAN. STREET, *February, 3, 1839.*

MY DEAR JOHN RUSSELL,—It will be necessary I think to get the Persians out of Ghoniān, but there will be no occasion to trouble Sir John Keene to eject them. Pozzo agreed with me yesterday that the Persians ought to evacuate that place because they had it not in 1834, when England and Russia came to an agreement about Persian affairs; and he said things ought to be replaced as to State of Possession in the situation in which they stood in 1834, the Schah evacuating the whole of the Herat country and we going along the “Bare de Sable” in the Persian Gulf, that is Karak. This Karak seems to be a good marketable commodity in the negotiation.

I trust therefore that the Schah will withdraw without being driven out; but if Force should be required, Schah Kamran of Herat would be able to do the needful, if Auckland were to send him some money, some engineer officers and perhaps a detachment of artillery, and this could be done with great ease, when Sir John Keene has got possession of Cabul and Kandahar.

Yours sincerely,

PALMERSTON.

(337) *Lansdowne to Russell.*BELGRAVE SQUARE, *Sunday, February, 1839.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I shall have summons sent round for $\frac{1}{2}$ past one on Tuesday.

You must be the best judge of the value of Macaulay in office in the H. of Commons, but he had almost convinced me that he would be as useful to the Gov^t. by supporting it (which I know he would zealously) if in Parl. as an independent member, as he would actually in place, and I do not think Cabinets are apt to improve in wisdom in proportion to the no. of heads they contain. . . .

Yours ever,

LANSDOWNE.

(338) *Russell to Melbourne.*

WOBURN ABBEY, *March 3, 1839.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I do not know what you are to do about the Board of Trade if you do not put Macaulay in the Cabinet, and send Vernon Smith there. If the Master of the Mint is not to be in the Cabinet you can hardly separate the two offices.

Gisborne's defeat is very awkward.

The D. of W.'s letter is very important. The project is probably one of many that the Russian Emperor keeps in the pigeon-holes of his cabinet for the subjugation of England and France.

But I agree with the Duke in his concluding sentence that *coûte que coûte*, the Russian fleet should not be allowed to come out of the Baltic.

I think you should ask Minto and two or three Admirals how they could be prevented, if they were to make the attempt.

Y^{rs}

J. RUSSELL.

(339) *William Russell to Russell.*BERLIN, *April*, 1839.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I congratulate you on your Majority of 22. I hear you spoke admirably. I congratulate you also on having finished the Belgian affair—*cujus pars parva fui*—I think the Queen ought to make Lord Palmerston an Earl, he highly deserves it. It would have a good effect on the Continent. The Belgian and Eastern diplomacy do great honor to your Ministry. I hope your health is good.

Affy. yours,

G. W. RUSSELL.

I have just heard that the Grand Duke of Russia will not go to England. This I regret—for a good reception given to him in England would go far to put us on good terms with his Papa—and terms so easily obtained should not be despised.

(340) *Mr. W. C. Bowles to T. Moore.*BREMILL, *April* 19, 1839.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—We came home the latter end of last week, and I intended the very beginning of this week to drive over to see you and Mrs. Moore, but I had a letter from Wordsworth, at Bath, asking me, as I was so near, to come over, and I could not find a day before yesterday conveniently, and I particularly thought it best as he could not come here,

to give some ——¹ about him, before I came to Sloperton.

We saw Wordsworth and old Dorothy yesterday. . . .

I read your beautiful lines in his daughter's Album, reading in haste "wreath" for "breath," cry'd "Cockney" but I soon found my mistake, and thought them some of the sweetest verses you had ever written, and the metaphor all through beautifully followed. The last *trembling* lines of poor Walter Scott were there. Do you know anything of Reade, author of "Italy," and a poem on the Deluge, may be (?) ; "Italy" is beautiful.

Think of old Scrope writing a book for which he has got a thousand pounds. It contains some fine sketches of forest highland scenery.

(341) *Mr. Abercromby, the Speaker, to Russell.*

CARLTON TERRACE, April 29, 1839.

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—You are aware that when I agreed to resume the Chair at the beginning of the present Session, I stated that I could not engage to continue to the close. I find that the depression from fatigue is at times so great as to make me incapable of discharging the duty of Speaker with efficiency. Under these circumstances I have decided that the time is come when I must retire. I wish to make my retreat in the way that will be least inconvenient to you and

¹ Illegible.

the House. I refer it to you as the Leader of the House to select the earliest moment when the change can be made with the least obstruction to public business and care must be taken when you have decided, that my resignation may be so managed as to secure me against any charge of acting unfairly towards the House.

I remain,

My dear Lord John,

Yours very truly,

I. ABERCROMBY.

(342) *W. C. Bowles to T. Moore.*

May 4th or 9th (year?)

MY DEAR MOORE,—I hope you will not think my not reading “Rock” unkind. My reluctance to do so proceeds solely from my regard for you, and fearing I should find some things in it less compatible with that truth and candour which are with me everything in regard to those for whom I entertain an affectionate interest. I am told, however, there is great point and pleasantry in the book, and that you have spoken with kindness of me among others. For this you have my thanks, and if you knew how much I was interested for your *best* and most *substantial* fame you would not think me undeserving of whatever you may have said. . . . I should have been glad to have dined with you at the Wiltshire dinner, . . . no one has a greater respect for the undeviating principles and high

gentlemanly character of your Chairman. . . .
God bless you. . . . *Dum spiritus nos regit*
Artus,

W. C. BOWLES.

(343) *Russell to Melbourne.*

May 12, 1839.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I have seen Spencer, who says that we could not do otherwise than we have done as gentlemen, but that our difficulties with the Radicals are not diminished.

I asked him whether he had any objection to see the Queen, and he has none.

I think he and Lord Grey should both see the Queen.

Howick and C. Wood say we ought to adjourn till after Whitsuntide.

I will call upon you at one to-morrow to settle what I shall move.

Y^{rs}

J. RUSSELL.

(344) *William Russell to Russell.*

BERLIN, *June 24*, 1839.

MY DEAR JOHN,—

“ His varied life is tossed on faction’s wave
A leader now, and now a party’s slave,
And shall his character a waverer seem,
If that’s a fault impute it not to him.

He played a stake, a fortune threw the die,
So look upon him with a brother's eye.
We would for him an interest create
His own his virtues and his faults his fate."

What can a man do more than be Creator and master of his own virtues, that you do and are, but fate is hard upon you. But struggle on. The more the difficulties, the more the glory. You are like Napoleon fighting his great fight in France, with a better result than him, I hope. You can bear adversity better than he could—You are more like Frederick II of Prussia. Orloff told me you meant to give up. I hope not. Werther (who wishes you much to remain in) says you should make the Budget the only Ministerial question, and say, "As long as I get my Budget I remain Minister of the Crown." I think he is right. The Tories are going down hill here every day. People are disgusted with their factious opposition. Wheaton, the American Minister, says you are right. He says the Ballot is nonsense, and would disappoint both parties in its consequences.

He says you should continue the Reform Bill as it is, correcting its errors and abuses. The great point is to conclude the session and allow the heat and bad passions now in agitation to subside. . . .

Wishing you health and strength to carry on your struggle, I am,

Ever affectionately yours,

G. W. RUSSELL.

(345) *Russell to Melbourne.**June, 1839.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I think you should write to the Chapter of Exeter that all legal difficulty being now removed, you cannot but consider that a refusal to attend to the recommendation of the Queen will be highly disrespectful to the Crown, and that you will consider what further measures it may be proper to take on the subject.

Y^{rs}

J. RUSSELL,

(346) *Palmerston to Russell.**STANHOPE STREET, August 3, 1839.*

MY DEAR JOHN RUSSELL,—I have received this Letter this Evening from Denman; I have sent it to Melbourne, and I enclose his reply.

We discussed the Matter to-day in Cabinet; and the opinion of those present was that we ought to go on with our Measures; with a Bill if possible; without it if none can be got.

I apprehend that without any Bill we could do as follows—order our Cruizers on the African Coast and Elsewhere to detain all Ships found Slave Trading under the Portuguese Flag; to take them to the nearest English Colony; to land there the negroes, and to set them free; to send the Crew to Portugal and hand them over to the Portuguese Government: and either to destroy the Ship by sinking or burning, or Else

to break her to Pieces and to sell the materials as old Timber.

Doubts are entertained whether in such a case the officers and men employed, would be liable to any action, either for damage or for false Imprisonment; some think that it would be a sufficient Defence against such an action brought by a Foreigner to plead that the Thing complained of was done by order of the Sovereign, whom the officer or Seaman was bound and obliged to obey; others say, that even if an action could be maintained the difficulties of bringing it to Trial and the Length of Time required to bring it to a final Decision after appeal, would deter almost Every body, from adopting Such a Course.

Therefore we might perhaps dispense with an Act for this Purpose.

But we should want to give to the officers and Men for these Captures the same Bounties which are given for Captures under the Treaties, and for this I conceive an act is requisite.

We should also require an act to empower Admiralty Courts to adjudicate captured vessels; to receive Proof that the vessel was really engaged in Slave Trade and to decree that on that Ground she might be dealt with. Because otherwise our Proceeding would be in its nature Piratical. We should be seizing the Ships of Foreigners in Time of Peace, and be disposing of them without any Form of Trial; and we should by so doing be liable to be accused by

the Crews, or by other Persons, of having plundered innocent Merchant Ships and of having burnt or sunk them; and we should have no recorded legal Proceeding to appeal to in Refutation of such a Charge. This would bring us soon into Discredit and make it impossible for us to continue such a System.

We should want a Similar Power for Ships destitute of Papers proving Nationality.

If Denman thinks he can carry his Bill, he would perhaps be a good Man to bring it in—not being a Member of the Government he would be able more easily than we could, to bring the Duke to retrace his Steps for it would be less humiliating for the Duke to accept a Bill from him than from Us; and though the Money Clause could not, I suppose, be brought in with the Bill in the Lords, we could insert it in the Commons afterwards. There would be some advantage in not losing Time. Let me know what you think on all this.

Yours sincerely,

PALMERSTON.

(347) *Russell to Melbourne.*

August 13, 1839.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,— . . . [after calculations on the coming elections.] For my own part I am determined to withstand the Tories to the utmost, thinking their conduct on the Poor Law the most disgraceful of which any party

was ever guilty, and therefore I am determined to have with them neither peace nor truce. . . . I do not expect that we shall avoid a schism, but if we can we shall win. . . .

Ever yours,
J. R.

(348) *Russell to Melbourne.*

August 16, 1839.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I shall not object to Ward, having no very good man to oppose to Normanby's predilection. But this makes it the more necessary to have good colonial advice in the Cabinet. I now therefore propose the following arrangement, as the one to be finally adopted. It is time to settle these matters, and I think in settling them we should unsettle as few seats as possible :—

Thomson	...	Gov. Canada
Clarendon	...	P. Board of Trade
Labouchere	...	Mint (Cabinet)
Sir George Grey		Judge Advocate (Cabinet)
Ward	...	Under Sec. Colonies
Clay	...	Vice P. Board of Trade (vacates)
Baring	...	C. Exc ^t (Cabinet) (vacates)
Vernon Smith	...	Sec. Treasury
Shiel	...	Sec. India Board.

being only two vacancies in the whole, and one added to the Cabinet.

Y^{rs}

J. RUSSELL.

Pray shew this to Lansdowne.

(349) *Russell to Melbourne.**August 16, 1839.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I am convinced it is best that I should go to the Colonies, and it will make the machine work much more smoothly. . . . Labouchere must be Board of Trade. He will be most agreeable to Baring. . . .

Yours,

J. RUSSELL.

(350) *Russell to Melbourne.**BUCKHURST, August 25, 1839.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I do not know that I could say anything to you in conversation which I cannot say in writing.

Howick has no right to ask for a division *now* on the main proposals of the Commission; the last division of the Cabinet having been adverse to their adoption, and the opinions of the D. of Wellington, and every military man being still more opposed to them.

But if Howick resigns, what are we to do in respect of his office? Macaulay would be the best successor in many respects, but there are obstacles.

Clarendon has been offered a place out of the Cabinet, on the sole ground that there was no room for him. I have some reason to think he would have taken the Privy Seal, and with a vacancy, it surely ought to be offered to him.

Moreover, the additions made to the Cabinet in the Commons will be Morpeth and Grey, besides the successors of Thomson and Rice. In the Lords you have had no addition, and excellently as you speak for the Prime Minister, I do not think you have sufficient debating colleagues for the departments. An addition of a man of talents in the Lords would be therefore most desirable.

If only one addition can be made, then I think it should be Clarendon. If you can make the Cabinet 16, then have Macaulay likewise. But I think this should not be done without Lansdowne's assent, and if Howick is bent on resigning I should therefore request him to hold the office till Lansdowne's opinion can be obtained. I do not see any danger to Macaulay's seat. Gordon would then have the Admiralty office, and M. O'Farrel the Treasury, or *vice versa*.

I must ask you to represent to the Queen my great fatigue and worrying cough. Your messenger arrived last night long after I was gone to bed—which must account for the shortness of my answer.

Yours ever,

J. R.

(351) *Melbourne to Russell.*

SOUTH STREET, August 26, 1839.

I send you Howick's decision. Nothing as it appears to me can be more absurd than the

grounds upon which he has put it. I have written to ask him not to press his resignation immediately, but to give us time to communicate with Lansdowne. I rather doubt his complying.

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

(352) *Russell to Melbourne.*

BUCKHURST, August 28, 1839.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I can only say, that I am sorry Howick has resigned, and shall say so to him.

As to the next step, I am persuaded it is one of great importance. There are three courses.

1. To give Macaulay Howick's office and nothing else. You then give just cause of affront to Clarendon, and prevent his joining you hereafter.

2. To offer Macaulay Howick's office and Clarendon the Privy Seal. You increase the Cabinet to 16, of whom 9 in the House of Commons. You make the course of government somewhat doubtful as to the movement policy, Macaulay having spoken on ballot, and nothing else.

3. To keep the numbers of the Cabinet as they are, making Gordon or Seymour Secretary at War, and reserving the power of offering Clarendon the Privy Seal when he returns home.

I am in favour of this third course, but should wish to have Lansdowne's opinion.

Should Howick insist upon leaving the office now, Sullivan can carry it on, for two or three months, if required. . . .

You had better get out of town when you can, for your health and rest.

Y^{rs} truly,

J. R.

(353) *Melbourne to Russell.*

DOWNING STREET, *August 28, 1839.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I sent you yesterday Howick's reply to your letters. I apprehend there is now no chance of his altering his determination, although the further consultation has taken place between him and Wood this morning. I am told his conduct is mainly owing to the strong advice which he has received from Lord Grey.

From what I collect it appears to me that there is a strong predominance of opinion in favour of the offer being made to Macaulay. I myself have no objection to this, and if you have not, Do you not think that We might proceed to make it, without waiting to communicate with Lansdowne, which it is difficult to do secretly and impossible to do speedily?

I have a letter from Sir George Grey, very handsome, accepting, but saying that he would have been quite content to remain as he was,

that if there was any objection on account of his office, he begged that the offer having been made might not be held a bar to its being reconsidered.

Brougham expressed temperately and good-naturedly to Duncannon some objection to that part of the arrangement, to which otherwise he said he saw nothing particularly to find fault with.

Yours faithfully,
MELBOURNE.

(354) *Russell to Melbourne.*

BUCKHURST, *August 29, 1839.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I think if Charles Buller declines (which I do not think he will), Clay, Hawes, and Bannerman are the best—indeed all of them far better than Charles Buller.

Upon further consideration, I believe if Howick persists, it will be best to make Macaulay Secretary at War, and Clarendon should have the offer of the Privy Seal.

But I should like to have Lansdowne's concurrence in doing this, and a letter to Vienna would probably reach him, or you might very easily ask Palmerston to send one of his messengers to find him. . . .

Yours ever,
J. RUSSELL.

(355) *Mr. Benjamin Haydon*¹ *to Russell.*

PRIVATE.

LONDON, August 31, 1839.

MY LORD,—I wish very much to see you before you go out of Town and when business is a little got over.

I assure you I heartily approve of that part of your Speech wherein you said the Academy distribute charity, and bestow instruction ; if you are prepared for State interference, these things must not be lost sight of.

Be assured *my* only object is not to obstruct the good the Academy does—but to *lessen* the evil and extend the power of doing good, and I am perfectly sure if the representative system were carried into the Academy by the Members of it being elected out of a Constituency, the good would be encreased and the evil lessened. They would then be amenable to a public assembly—or once a year the Constituency should be assembled, and every act of the Year passed, be canvassed and examined into.

Now they are amenable only to the King and their own body, and we know how easy it is to talk over a Sovereign who may or may not know any thing of what its political relations are and perhaps think it beneath him.

To *vex* the Academicians has never been my paltry object. I had nothing to do with the

¹ The artist and author of "Table Talk." See note in Appendix.

order, and had my advice been asked I would have said *wait a little*, but the House being *committed* the dignity ought not to have been sacrificed, lest the Academicians might be *vexed*.

Perhaps your Lordship will remember saying to me when you sat: "Have you ever thought of any thing for a Picture connected with the Duke of Wellington—remember, it would be as lasting as Napoleon?" I said no—but certainly in consequence of your Lordship's remark I meditated on it, and designed him and his Horse Copenhagen on the Field at Waterloo *20 years* after the Battle!

It is for St. George's Hall, Liverpool, and I should wish to hear your opinion of it—the Duke of Sutherland thinks it very fine.

I am, My Lord,

Your Obt.,

B. R. HAYDON.

I have just returned from Waterloo, where I went for the back-ground.

(356) *Russell to Melbourne.*

BUCKHURST, *August 31, 1839.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I see the changes, and Howick's retirement, are announced in the *Globe*, so that there cannot be any more mystery about them.

George Grey must make up his own mind whether he wishes to be in the Cabinet. If he

does, I think after what the Chancellor has said, it would be better that he should be Master of the Mint, though I do not think the objection insuperable. In fact, the Attorney-Gen. advises a prosecution, and carries it on afterwards. . . .

When you have seen G. Grey and Baring, you may as well send to Lansdowne. My opinion is in favour of both Clarendon and Macaulay. We have so many *dumb dogs* in the Cabinet.

I shall be in town on Monday, and walk into the Colonial Office with my seals, which Mr. Stephen says I ought to carry with me.

I hope you will get Hawes to join us: he belongs to the friendly section of Radicals.

Y^{rs}

J. RUSSELL.

(357) *Russell to Melbourne.*

ENDSLEIGH, *September 9, 1839.*

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—It is certainly of no use to conceal the difficulties of the situation. . . . I always thought that the Whig party, as a party would be destroyed by the Reform Bill. . . . My own disposition, with respect to the Tories, is far more hostile than it was. Had they come into office on our resignation last session, I should have felt bound to aid rather than to embarrass them. But their late conduct has been so very profligate. . . . The attempt to govern on Orange maxims broke down in 1834. . . .

I remember you were the first person in 1829 by whom I heard it said that Ireland would henceforth claim to be treated according to its importance as a branch of the United Kingdom. It has done so, and will do so, and has a right to do so. . . . I wrote to you yesterday about Mulgrave's proceeding. I dislike the dismissal of a man like Colonel Verner, for an after-dinner toast, most amazingly. . . .

Yrs. ever,

J. R.

(358) *Palmerston to Russell.*

WINDSOR, September 10, 1839.

MY DEAR JOHN RUSSELL,—You will like to see this Letter from John Hay: send it back to Minto.

I quite agree as to the expediency of keeping France with us, but Esterhazy who equally wishes it concurs in thinking that the best way of keeping her with us is to let her understand that if she will not move on, we, Austria and Russia, will move on without her.

[Refers to a letter from Lord William Russell.]

(359) *Russell to Melbourne.*

September 13, 1839.

[A few extracts from a long letter.]

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—Whatever course we may take no one can expect that we should carry

either the Appropriation Clause or the Church Rate Bill in the present Parliament. . . .

There are two things which I think would be more acceptable than any others to this body [the Radicals], the one to make the Ballot an open question, the other to remove the Tories from the political command of the Army. . . . Everybody believes that support of the Government is nearly fatal to a man who wants a favour at the Horse Guards.

(360) *Sydney Smith to Russell.*

COMBE FLEURY, *October 10, 1839.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—You will I have no doubt find everything comfortable at Miss Sneat's Hotel. I have ordered dinner and beds for you, but why did you not dine at the best hotel at C. Florey? You should have dined in your travelling clothes and gone off the next morning at 6,—I call, Boots and Waiter or anything else—after 30 years friendship and good will Ceremony cannot exist. I shall hope to find you at Bowood on the 16th at dinner. After profound reflection with Mrs. Smith and Saba I have ordered you the following dinner. . . . Ever my dear John very sincerely yours,

SYDNEY SMITH.

(361) *Attorney-General Campbell to Russell.*

October 19, 1839.

DEAR LORD JOHN,—I hope you will not think me guilty of any disrespect in not having

addressed you respecting my acceptance of the vacant Judgeship. Having served so long under you and being so proud of my gallant leader, it will cost me a bitter pang to leave the field. . . . [He declined the Judgeship for the party's sake.]

Yours very faithfully,
J. CAMPBELL.

(362) *Russell to Melbourne.*

BUCKHURST, November 12, 1839.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I think it is far better that P. Albert should not be made a Peer. Constant absence would make his peerage a nullity, and it would be perilous for him to vote.

In saying this, I am of opinion that if hereafter he should wish it, and the Queen approve, it might be a good measure. But he should have time to know England, and to know the rare occasions upon which, in his situation, he might declare his opinion—such questions should be national or personal, and not party.

Y^{rs} truly,
J. RUSSELL.

I think K. Leopold may have some feeling that he wished it, and was thwarted.

J. R.

(363) *Russell to Melbourne.*

BOWOOD, December 20, 1839.

MY DEAR MELBOURNE,—I think these proposals are intended as a net to catch as much as can be got. I agree in all your notes.

I would only further say, that there will be no objection to separate Coburg and Gotha from the Crown of England, if the heir should be the same, but that it would not do to stipulate that the second son must take it, for he might prefer being Duke of York here to being Prince of Coburg in Germany.

Any answer to be sent should be seen by the Lord Chancellor, and any draft of a treaty of marriage, or bill for Parliament should be carefully "perused and settled" by the Law Officers.

This must take time, and it is very desirable that the draft of a Bill should be at once prepared. If you will tell me what is to be put in it, I will ask Campbell to draw it.

Y^{rs} truly,

J. RUSSELL.

(364) *Palmerston to Russell.*

STANHOPE STREET, *December*, 1839.

MY DEAR JOHN RUSSELL,—I have despatches to-day from Clanricarde and Kipeleff has communicated to me one from Nesselrode to him stating that Russia agrees to our condition about the Dardanelles and consents that ships of war of any Power that will co-operate for the attainment of the common object, namely the Protection of Turkey, shall enter the Dardanelles whenever the Russians enter the Bosphorus.

Brunnow is ordered back here to finish the negotiation which he had begun.

Yours sincerely,

PALMERSTON.

(365) *Lansdowne to Russell.*

Friday [1838 or 1839.]

MY DEAR JOHN RUSSELL,—I am obliged to use Lady Lansdowne's hand to answer your note, having had an attack of gout. . . . The leaning of my mind continues quite as strongly as it was when we last talked upon the subject of the Education Question, that is, that we ought after having gone so far to submit to be beat rather than to abandon our scheme without discussing it. We are so *decidedly* in the right, what is not always the case, that a discussion must lead to good hereafter if it does not produce it now, and in proposing it, you will have the advantage of collecting from what passes better than it is possible to do any other way what is the feeling of the House, and whether by withdrawing your motion after debate you could secure a vote for two Normal Schools which it certainly would not do to propose after relinquishing a better plan without a certainty of success. . . . Hallam agrees entirely with every part of our scheme.

Yours truly,

LANSDOWNE.

(366) *The Duchess of Bedford to Russell.*

BARONS COURT, December 27, 1839.

MY DEAREST JOHN,—. . . The inclosed letter will give you pleasure.

There is always something to thank you for, your generosity to Henry I have just heard of, I cannot express what I feel for that additional proof of your interest about my children, but you must recollect, my dear John, that your own children must be considered first. . . . I am more composed since I came here, and walk as *you told me to do* every day.

May God bless you my dear John. . . . I look to you as a great source of comfort and I hope you will always consider C. Hill as your own Home.

Most afftely yours,

GEORGIANA BEDFORD.

(367) *Justice Denman to Russell.*

GUILDHALL, May 20, 1840.

MY DEAR LORD,—For myself I must say that I have not turned my mind to the question whether the punishment of death ought to be abolished in other cases than those provided for by the Acts of 1837; nor have any of my brethren proposed the question to me. To-morrow I shall meet many of them and will inform you if they wish to submit any suggestions to you. It appears to me probable that

they would decline to commit themselves by any opinion of the subject, and unless you hear from me again you will have the goodness to consider that I shall have ascertained such to be their feeling. In truth, the judges have no peculiar facilities for observing the effect of their sentences.

Yours, my dear Lord, very truly,

DENMAN.

(368) *The Hon. Harriet Lister to Russell.*

September 9, 1840.

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—Sad as your letters are, it is still a relief to have them. I will hope for you, though you cannot for yourself. . . . I cannot thank you as I wish and feel for all you are with regard to the children ; for all you *have* been to them. I never can think of them without tears of gratitude. We *all* feel it, we often talk of it together. . . . You have been more than ever an own father could have been, and by your example, an example of all that is good and pure and great in mind and conduct you are doing for them unconsciously more than any other teaching can do. . . . I am only expressing what my brother and Theresa have often expressed to me. . . .

Your affte.

H. LISTER.



APPENDIX

NOTES ON AUTHORS OF THE LETTERS AND PERSONS MENTIONED IN THEM.

1. LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL was the second son of John, sixth Duke of Bedford, and was born in 1790. He served in the Peninsular War, was twice aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington, and became Major-General in 1841; after leaving the Army entered the Diplomatic Service, and was Minister successively at Lisbon, Brussels, and Berlin. He was attached to Adair's mission to Belgium in July, 1831.

He married Elizabeth (the "Bessy" of the letters), daughter of John Rawdon, brother of the first Marquis of Hastings. He died on July 16, 1846. She died in 1874. Their son Hastings became ninth Duke of Bedford.

2. Gertrude was the daughter of William Russell, brother of the sixth Duke, and uncle of Lord John Russell.

3. Lady Anna Maria Stanhope was daughter of the Earl of Harrington, and married Lord Tavistock, Lord John Russell's brother, who was afterwards seventh Duke.

4. Henry Richard Vassall, third Lord Holland, was born in 1773. He went to Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, entered the Cabinet of All the Talents in 1806, and took much part in both the political and literary life of the time. He attacked the treaty with Sweden, which abetted Swedish designs on Norway, and generally favoured all movements for civil and religious liberty. In 1830 he became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and held office till 1835. He wrote many political papers, and was much confided in as a critic

and friendly counsellor on affairs both public and private. The brilliant society which for many years gathered at Holland House has probably never been equalled in England for conversation, wit, ease, and political influence. Contemporary records of Sydney Smith, Moore, Jeffery, Mackintosh, and Rogers give a fair idea of the intercourse of talents which gave the best sort of pleasure with the kindest hospitality. Sydney Smith said of Holland that there never existed in any human being a better heart, more purified from all bad passions.

Lady Holland, who was a Miss Vassall, was rather dreaded for her sharp sayings, but took her part in the entertainment of guests with a good deal of skill. Both Lord and Lady Holland were lifelong friends to John Russell, and she insisted on giving him by will a valuable property in Kennington; he accepted it on condition that it should be for his own lifetime only.

Lord Holland died in 1840, leaving a daughter, Mary, who married the third Lord Clifford.

5. Mr. Smith, the "Dean Smigo," was Master of the School at Woodnesboro.

6. Professor Playfair (1748-1819) was the honoured tutor at Edinburgh University, a man eminent in philosophy and beloved by his pupils. He was a mathematician and geologist, in 1785 Professor of Mathematics, and in 1805 of Natural Philosophy. He wrote "Elements of Geometry," "Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth," and he helped to create Modern Geology. His writing was distinguished by purity of diction and clearness of explanation. Russell always remembered him with grateful affection, and in his last illness kept the engraving of his portrait so placed that he might have it in view.

7. The Duke of Bedford, Russell's father, was Lord John till 1802, when he succeeded his brother Francis, fifth Duke. He married first, when only 20, Georgiana Byng, daughter of Viscount Torrington. Three sons were born of this marriage, Francis, afterwards seventh Duke, William and John. His wife died in 1801. In 1803 he married

Georgiana, daughter of the Duke of Gordon, by whom he had six sons, and three daughters. He died in 1839.

He was ancestor of a very large number of families now living, Abercorns, Hamiltons (over 100), Buccleuchs, Durhams, Marlboroughs, Mount Edgumbes, and others, including Russells, Villiers, and Peels.

8. Edward Cartwright was the inventor of a power loom and other mechanical contrivances of great importance to British industries. He was interested in literature and poetry, and acted as tutor to Russell during his tour in the manufacturing districts.

10. The Marchioness of Bath (Lady Weymouth in early letters) was sister of Lady John Russell, Russell's mother.

11. Mrs. Dugald Stewart was the wife of Prof. Dugald Stewart, the philosopher, of Edinburgh.

12. Mr. Clive was second son of Earl Powis, and was grandfather of the present Earl of Plymouth.

13. Sir William Napier was the famous soldier and historian of the Peninsular War.

14. Francis Horner (1778-1817) was a very able and honoured member of the Edinburgh group to which Jeffrey, Sydney Smith, Russell, and Mackintosh belonged. He was a leading member of the Speculative Society in Edinburgh. In 1800 he joined the Scotch and, in 1802 the English bar. Horner, Jeffrey, and Smith founded the *Edinburgh Review*. His articles from 1802 to 1809 were numerous. He was Member for St. Ives in 1806, was chairman of the committee on bullion, strongly favoured free trade in corn, was one of the best speakers in the House of Commons, and on February 26, 1816, made, as Lord Colchester relates, a "most powerful and profound" speech on the treaties; he also spoke on the Catholic claims.¹ In a short time he made a high reputation for breadth of view and scrupulous integrity. In the summer of this year his health failed, and in February, 1817, he died at Pisa. The speeches on Horner after his death by Canning, Romilly, and Morpeth were translated into Italian by Ugo Foscolo.

¹ June 25, 1816. His last speech.

15. The Countess of Bradford and Mrs. Seymour were sisters of Lord John Russell's mother. The Bridgeman who travelled with Clive and Russell in Spain was the eldest son of the Earl of Bradford and later succeeded to that title.

16. Charles, second Earl Grey, was born in 1764. He was the son of Sir Charles Grey, first earl, and of Elizabeth Grey. He went to Eton and King's College, Cambridge, but did not gain much from either. After travelling in France, Italy, and Germany, he entered the House of Commons and made his first speech in 1787. He was an excellent speaker. A trusted lieutenant of Fox, he was a member of the Society of Friends of the People for promoting constitutional reform, and moved in 1792 for inquiry. In 1801 he established himself at Howick, in Northumberland, which he only reluctantly left when required in London on important occasions. Grey became Lord Howick, and First Lord of the Admiralty in 1806. After Fox's death he became Secretary for Foreign Affairs and leader of the Whigs in the House. In 1808 he succeeded to the peerage as Earl Grey. He protested in 1813 against the Swedish treaty by which, as in the Treaty of Vienna, the Great Powers claimed to dispose of the territory and fortunes of small independent States. He condemned the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1817, but was left in a small minority. Owing to the part which he took on the Queen's side, he incurred the King's hostility, and his exclusion from office during the reign of George IV. was absolute.

In 1830 he warmly advocated Reform and took a leading part with a manifesto to the Whig party. In November, 1830, he became Prime Minister. He appointed the committee of four to prepare a plan of Reform. The plan submitted went beyond what he desired, but popular enthusiasm urged him forward.

On July 8, 1831, he made a powerful speech in the House of Lords for the Reform Bill, which will always be connected with his name. The Peers rejected the Reform Bill. On May 17 the King gave the necessary authority to create

Peers, but by exercising his influence to induce peers to stay away from the House no creation was actually made, and the Bill passed.

Grey resigned, and was glad to retire, after the Littleton-Wellesley-O'Connell affair, in July, 1834. He died in 1845.

Grey was devoted to the Constitution and to liberty, but was too timid to bring in large reforms whole-heartedly, and had rather an aristocratic than a democratic theory of government. He was a great orator and debater, a high-minded statesman on whose honour all could rely. He married Mary, daughter of William Ponsonby. They had fifteen children. The fifth son succeeded him in the title.

17. Viscount Althorp, afterwards third Earl Spencer, was born in 1782, went to Harrow and Trinity, Cambridge, where he wasted his time until the last year or two. Under the tuition of Allen, afterwards Bishop of Ely, he worked hard and showed his capacity.

He was elected Member for Okehampton, as a supporter of Pitt, in 1804. His parliamentary duties were uncongenial; he was hankering for country sports, especially hunting and shooting. His friendship with Lord Henry Petty, Lord Ebrington, and Fox drew him towards the Whig party. From 1815 onwards he formed strong Radical opinions, seeing clearly the grievances of the industrial classes and need for parliamentary reform. He supported the Radical Joseph Hume, in his efforts for greater economy, and voted for Catholic emancipation and the repeal of the Test Acts. He supported the proposal for an income tax, and introduced a Liberal Bill on the Game Laws. He was chosen leader of the Whigs on March 6, 1827. Although most reluctant to take office, and to form and head the Ministry, as Grey suggested, he eventually chose the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House, and an admirable leader he became. He grew rapidly, with responsibility, from "wretched" and "ill-informed" to "thorough," "moderate," and "masterly." In the Reform debate his character helped more than his words. "It was Althorp

who carried the Bill," said Sir Henry Hardinge. "His fine temper did it." Macaulay bore similar testimony.

After the victory he retired to the country "to expiate," as he said, "the great fault of my life, having entered into politics." He was much blamed, but foolishly, for having in 1833 privately conversed with O'Connell in order to ascertain what the Irish Members really wanted.

The motion for production of the correspondence caused Althorp to resign, and this brought with it the resignation of the Grey Ministry. An arbitration meeting of Lord Ebrington, Lord Tavistock, and Mr. Bonham Carter gave a decision which enabled him, on condition of the excision of the "meeting clauses" from the Coercion Bill, to return to office.

In November, 1834, affairs on his estate after his father's death were found to demand his presence in the country. He applied himself to farming and to endeavouring by sales and economies to avoid further embarrassments. He lived thenceforth at his wife's place, Wiseton. To her, whom he married in 1814, whose maiden name was Esther Arklow, he was devoted. Country life and sports were what he always cared for; official life was irksome, but demanded of him.

He made a considerable impression by his statement, coming from a landlord and a farmer, that protection was unnecessary and reciprocity a fallacy. In November, 1838, Lord Melbourne offered him the Governorship of Canada or of Ireland, both of which he declined.

His last speech was on the Maynooth College Bill in 1845.

He died in the following October.

Lord Howard spoke of Althorp to Russell as "a man who acts on all matters with a scrupulous, deliberate, and inflexible regard to his public duty and private conscience." He was honoured in the House and beloved by his friends.

During the struggle of the Reform Bill he was a stalwart coadjutor of Russell, though never a good speaker. In an

old copy of a speech by Russell at Bristol on November 10, 1835, I find this passage : " I must notice a calumny, . . . as extraordinary as any ever promulgated, . . . the attack on Lord Althorp, first that he acted with baseness towards Lord Grey ; secondly, that he did so for the purpose of retaining office for himself. . . . He was a man wholly incapable of anything base or meanly selfish, . . . he was a man whose fault it was in public life to be too averse to office ; . . . and if ever there was a man devoted to the fame and reputation of Earl Grey, that man was Lord Althorp. . . . The simple grandeur of his character rises above the reach of detraction."

18. Thomas Moore was born on May 28, 1779, in Dublin. His father came from Kerry, his mother from Wexford. He was married in March, 1811, to Alice Dyke, an actress, he being then thirty-one and his wife sixteen. His friend Lord John Russell wrote in his memoir of the poet, concerning Mrs. Moore : " From 1811 to 1852, the year of his death, this excellent and beautiful person received from him the homage of a lover enhanced by all the gratitude, all the confidence, which the daily and hourly happiness he enjoyed was sure to inspire." Fond as he was of society and the gay world, " few men," as Mr. Thursfield writes, " of whom one reads appear to have got more pleasure out of their home than Moore." A quarrel and absurd duel with Jeffrey were followed by a lasting friendship between the Scotchman and the Irishman. Jeffrey recognised the merits of his Irish melodies, asked him to become a contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*, and generously offered help in his money difficulties, but he cherished his principle of self-reliance. Dr. Parr expressed the feeling of many friends in describing Moore as standing high in his estimation for original genius, exquisite sensibility, and incorruptible integrity. But, as Russell wrote when regretting the part he had taken in persuading Moore to take refuge in Paris rather than in Holyrood, " his universal popularity was his chief enemy."

Many of Moore's writings are trivial and a few are coarse,

but his "Melodies," his "Life of Byron," and some other of his works, obtained a great and deserved renown. The "Life of Byron" has been stated to have been more read probably than any biography in the language except Boswell's "Johnson." Though very different in character, Byron formed a friendship with Moore and wrote of him : "To me some of his last Erin sparks are worth all the epics that ever were composed. He has a peculiarity of talent, poetry, music, voice, all his own, and an expression in each which never was possessed by another. . . . What humour, what—everything in the 'Post-bag' ! . . . In society he is gentlemanly, gentle, and altogether more pleasing than any individual with whom I am acquainted. . . . For his honour, principle and independence, his conduct to . . . speaks trumpet-tongued."

Moore's biographer, Mr. Thursfield, considers his Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald the best of his prose writings.

Moore was very cordially welcomed by Sir Walter Scott at Abbotsford in 1825 ; their sympathy was immediate ; they were "friends for life" in Scott's words. Miss Berry may have put him too high when she called him "as good a creature as ever lived" for he had faults, but his excellence as a man has been somewhat obscured by the false sentiment of some of his verse and prose, and by the apparent gay worldliness of his daily life. In 1847 his five children, for whom he had sacrificed much, had all died ; he sank into a sorrow and illness from which he never recovered. His widow had as maintenance only the proceeds from his Diary, edited, in the midst of political cares, by Lord John Russell. The Journals and Letters give a very full view of the society in which Moore delighted.

19. Samuel Rogers, poet, banker, and man of society, was born in 1763. His father, a banker, was son of a glass manufacturer at Stourbridge. His great-grandmother was a French refugee from Nantes. He was sent to school at Hackney, but was really self-educated, for he had diligence, taste, and wit. His good-nature, in spite of occasional bitterness and a strain of cynicism, was known to his intimate

friends. "He soothed the last illness of Fox, befriended the dying Sheridan, reconciled Moore and Byron," and generously helped in cases of distress. It was said that a man who borrowed from him was safe from his sharp arrows. He kindly noticed the early flights of young Henry Taylor the poet. William Maltby was a lifelong friend; Samuel Johnson he held in high regard, not without awe; Dr. Robertson the historian, and other great Scottish writers, Fox, Sheridan, and Horne Tooke were among his associates; of these Richard Sharp, the critic and man of letters, had the greatest influence. Rogers wrote the words of an opera in 1782, in 1786 published "An Ode to Superstition," in 1786 "The Pleasures of Memory," which in fourteen years went to fifteen editions, most of them over 1,000 copies each. In 1819 he wrote "Human Life," which he thought the best of his works, and "Italy," illustrated by Stothard, came out in 1822. In 1822 he spent some time with Byron and Shelley at Pisa. He was a great connoisseur and collector of works of art; the collection and library were sold after his death for £50,000. In 1850 he declined the office of Poet Laureate. He was then eighty-seven. He died in 1855.

20. Lavinia, Countess Spencer, the mother of Lord Althorp, an excellent friend to Russell, was one of the noblest women of her age. "She was a daughter of Lord Lucan, her name before marriage being Lady Lavinia Bingham. She was not less admired for her beauty than for her bright, intellectual look and graceful smile, so conspicuous in her portraits by Reynolds." Gibbon wrote of her: "She is a charming woman who, with sense and spirit, has the playfulness and simplicity of a child." "In force of character and brilliancy of conversation she was surpassed by few women of her time."

21. James Mackintosh was born in 1765, at Aldourie, a beautiful place on the banks of the Ness, near Inverness. For education he went to King's College, Aberdeen, and to Edinburgh for medical study. He joined the Speculative Society. In the Westminster election of 1796 he supported

Horne Tooke. He became Honorary Secretary of the Friends of the People. He soon afterwards came under the powerful influence of Burke, and abjured the extreme principles of the French Revolution, with its sanguinary history. Coleridge, who had laughed at him, hailed him as King of the men of talent. He gave a famous course of lectures at Lincoln's Inn on the law of Nature and of Nations, never published. A dining club was started at his house which attracted Rogers, Sharp, Allen, Robert Smith, Sydney Smith, Jeffrey, Hallam, Ricardo, Porson, Romilly, and Lords Holland and Brougham. Mackintosh was a great and eloquent advocate, and was praised by Erskine after his defence of Peltier. He accepted a judgeship in India in 1806 and returned to England in 1812. He was Member for Knaresborough in 1819. He was a vigorous and consistent supporter of Liberal principles, supported proposals for mitigating the criminal law, and was probably the most philosophical of politicians of the time. In 1830 he wrote for the "Encyclopædia Britannica" an article on "The Progress of Ethical Philosophy." His writings are numerous but not of great distinction. He was a frequent visitor at Holland House. Sydney Smith said of him: "Till subdued by age and illness, his conversation was more brilliant and instructive than that of any human being I ever had the fortune to be acquainted with." He spoke in the House of Commons for the last time in February, 1832, and died on May 30, in the same year.

22. Ugo Foscolo, born in 1778, was an ardent Italian patriot and a writer of some note. He believed in France's destiny to liberate Italy from Austria, and fought under Napoleon for France. In 1816 he went to London. His principal works were the "Lettere di Jacopo Ortis," 1802, and "I Sepolari," a poem. Like most of the literary men of the time, he suffered from poverty; he was somewhat reckless and ill-balanced and of a passionate temperament, which brought him into difficulties. He died in England in 1827.

23. Sydney Smith, clergyman, man of letters, philosophical essayist, Edinburgh reviewer, and wit, was born on

June 3, 1771. His mother was a daughter of Maria Olier, a French refugee. His father was of a roving disposition, wandered about the world immediately after his marriage, and bought only to sell again nineteen places in England. Sydney was sent to Winchester School and New College, Oxford. At Edinburgh, whither he moved in 1798, he formed lasting friendships with Jeffrey, Brougham, Horner, and among the older men of eminence, Playfair, Dugald Stewart, Alison, and Walter Scott. He started the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802, and in the course of his life wrote for it over eighty articles.

After Edinburgh, his time was spent at his remote country vicarage and in London, where his company was always welcome and his vivacity unfailing. A keen politician, he fought hard for all good causes, especially for freedom, justice, and enlightenment in the State and in matters connected with religious toleration. Only in the case of a rearrangement of ecclesiastical revenues he fell into accord with the carping spirit of professional conservatism. His essays on education, on the abuses of the game laws, and on land tenure may be read to-day for their modern Radical sense and their trenchant satire, which lay bare the hypocrisy of a society calling itself Christian.

In his pastoral capacity he helped his parishioners in unusual ways, often by administering sanitary advice or doses of physic, of which he had rough-and-ready samples at hand. He himself, however, dined without discrimination, and only in his old age made discoveries which if commonly used would regenerate the race, one that "digestion is the great secret of life," and another that "by eating little and drinking only water" mind and body may be kept "in a serene state" and free from disease.

He wrote many letters to Lord and Lady Grey, who were among his closest friends, to Lord Lansdowne, with whom he stayed at Bowood, and to Lord Holland, also many to Russell, both private and public.

He married Amelia, daughter of John Pybus, of Cheam, in 1800. A daughter, Saba, married Sir Henry Holland the

physician, father of the present Viscount Knutsford. His brother Robert, called Bobus Smith, was a man of merit and distinction.

Sydney Smith died on February 22, 1845.

24. Lafayette, born in 1757, from early manhood struggled incessantly for reform, for order, and for humanity, even in the midst of revolution, but was mortified by the violence of the Paris mob, which butchered Foulon and Berthier and revelled in outrage and excess. The Jacobins hated his moderation and the Court his zeal for reform. He went to America and became an intimate friend of Washington. On his return, after imprisonment by the Austrians, he was freed by Napoleon. He sat in the Chamber of Deputies from 1818 to 1824. In 1830 he took an active part in the Revolution. It was at this time that he was visited by Russell, on behalf of the friends of Polignac.

He died in 1834. Buckle, in his "History of Civilization," wrote that it would be difficult to find, in that or any other age, two men of more active or enthusiastic benevolence than Condorcet and Lafayette. Lafayette's integrity was unsullied, his character had a chivalrous and noble turn; Burke's attacks upon him were base and false.

25. Henry Brougham, who lived from 1779 to 1868, went to the Edinburgh High School at seven years old, and at fourteen to the University. He contributed a paper on Light to the Royal Society in 1796. He was remarkable for his ready wit, excellent memory, and oratorical powers. Russell estimated him high among Parliamentary speakers, and in his "Recollections" wrote of his "vast powers and splendid services." The Duke of Bedford gave him the membership for Camelford in 1810. His political career was brilliant, eventful, and stormy. He was a leading spirit in great reforms, but his ways and manners aroused antipathies, which marred his progress in office. He accepted the Lord Chancellorship in 1830, against his wish and at a great sacrifice, on the appeal of Lord Althorp for the sake of the party.

In science he failed to see the beauty and truth of Young's theory of Light and ran it down in the *Edinburgh Review*.

26. William Maltby, born in 1763, the lifelong friend of Samuel Rogers, was a solicitor of literary tastes, and became librarian of the London Institution on the death of Porson, in 1809. His powers of memory and his knowledge of books were remarkable. He died in 1854. Edward Maltby, the Liberal Bishop of Durham, was his cousin.

27. Edward Stanley, who became 14th Earl of Derby, was born in 1799, sent to Eton and Christ Church, and entered the House of Commons in 1820.

He supported Reform, and brought in an Irish Education Act, but, in opposition to Althorp, passed a very severe Act for Peace Preservation. In his early career he generally maintained Liberal views and supported his friend Russell in his fight against privilege and corruption. As Colonial Secretary in 1833 he brought in an Act for the Abolition of Slavery in British Territory, which was passed. He felt strongly for the maintenance *in statu quo* of the Established Church in Ireland, and looked with dismay and indignation on the proposed interference with tithes and appropriation of surplus funds to education and other "secular" purposes. In Peel's administration, when Secretary for the Colonies, he was a Free Trader, but he gradually moved towards the regular Conservative camp, and eventually led the party as Prime Minister in February, 1858. His forces were insufficient, but he was assured of some support by Russell. His Ministry lasted only a short time. In 1866, on the resignation of the Russell Government, defeated by the "Cave" on Reform, he was again Prime Minister. He was a brilliant speaker and debater, and until his alarms overcame his generosity, seemed destined to play a conspicuous part in the cause of progress. With Disraeli, he brought in the "dishing" Reform Bill of 1867, and carried it. His last speech in the House was in June, 1869. He died in the October following.

28. Leigh Hunt (1784-1859), essayist, journalist, critic, and poet, was one of the most interesting men of his time, though his faults obscured his fame for two generations. His father, unsteady, unpractical, and in debt, married Mary

Sherwell, a tender-hearted, conscientious woman, who was "a serene and inspiring influence to animate" her son "in the love of truth." Leigh was educated at Christ's Hospital. His health was delicate, his views unorthodox, he was unbusinesslike and rash. As Editor of the *Examiner* he did much to raise the tone of newspaper writing, and made his paper distinguished for fairness and tolerance. But for a free and outspoken attack on the Prince Regent and his vices he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. A great deal of indulgence was shown to him : he was allowed to use his rooms for the reception of guests and to decorate and furnish them according to his taste. Moore and Byron visited him. He wrote in prison the "Descent of Liberty," and continued editing the *Examiner*. He suffered much obloquy from the Conservatives, whom he attacked, and indeed the joints in his armour were not close. Keats, Shelley, and Carlyle were among his firm friends, but with Byron he was uncongenial, and they disagreed fundamentally. He wrote a fine play, "A Legend of Florence," also "Abou Ben Adhem," "The Story of Rimini," and a delightful collection of his writings is contained in "Men, Women, and Books." Carlyle reckoned the Autobiography as second to Boswell's "Johnson," "an altogether human and worthy book." Dickens regarded him as "the very soul of truth and honour."

Besides Dickens and Shelley, Macaulay, Lord Houghton, John Forster, Macready, Miss Martineau, and Miss Mitford testified to his high character. Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and George J. Holyoake each give a pleasant picture of him in his old age. Although he was, at least in later life, very abstemious, eating only the plainest food, bread for luncheon and supper, and water to drink, he was artistically reckless and in perpetual difficulties during the period 1834-40. Russell obtained a pension for him of £200 a year in 1847.

(Letters of Leigh Hunt to Russell appear to belong to a later period and I have omitted them ; but there are allusions to him in the letters of Russell and Moore, and his

political support of the Liberal cause in the Press was fearless and valuable.)

29. Thomas Campbell the poet was born in 1777, at his father's ancestral home in Argyllshire. He was at school in Glasgow, and afterwards studied in Edinburgh. From 1801 onwards he was acquainted with Lord Holland, with Lord Minto, and with the Kembles. He was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, once defeating Sir Walter Scott. He was one of the movers, indeed the originator, of the plan for the University of London. The actual establishment of the University he regarded as the only important work in his life's history. But his poems are not forgotten. He died in 1844.

30. Prince de Polignac was born in 1780. He was an abettor of the abuses of oligarchical government and of the Court which cost Charles X. his throne. He served as Ambassador in England in 1823, and the English friendships formed during his embassy caused a great deal of sympathetic feeling for him and the Princess during his incarceration in the Revolution of 1830. Russell, at her entreaty, and acting for English friends, pleaded with the authorities at Paris that his life might be spared, and that protection might be given him against the fury of the populace.

31. Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston, was born in 1784, son of Henry 2nd Viscount and of his second wife Mary Mee. Much of his childhood was spent in Italy. He was at Harrow School with Althorp and Aberdeen, later at Edinburgh and Cambridge. He stood as a Tory for Cambridge University in 1806 and in 1807. He was elected for the pocket borough of Newtown, Isle of Wight, in 1807, was a Lord of the Admiralty in 1807, Secretary of War and Privy Councillor in 1809, and till 1828; nearly all this time he was Member for Cambridge University. But he was rejected in 1830 when he favoured Reform. Canning's principles of policy governed Palmerston throughout his life. He usually acted with the Whigs after 1828, but always retained Tory leanings in Home affairs. In 1829 he made

a great speech on Foreign Affairs, in which he denounced the Government support of Dom Miguel. He consistently favoured Roman Catholic emancipation. In 1832 he sent Sir Stratford Canning to Madrid to propose the establishment of Donna Maria as Queen of Portugal. In 1834 he contrived a treaty with France, Spain, and Portugal, through which Miguel and Carlos were expelled from the peninsula. His splendid and aggressive foreign policy was not wholly successful in Europe and in the East. The conspicuous part taken by Palmerston after 1839 cannot be here alluded to, but it may be sufficient to note that in foreign affairs at least he was an aggressive Radical, acting for Great Britain with forceful isolation, in Home affairs a Liberal-Conservative. Although he was too fond of rash strokes off his own bat, his relations with Russell were nearly always friendly. He died in 1865.

32. Sir James Graham, born in 1792, was sent to Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford, but owed little of his education to either. He travelled in Spain in 1812. He was elected as a Whig for Hull. The ruinous expenses of elections compelled him to live in retirement near his home at Netherby, where he did excellent work in farming and improving conditions of country life. Before 1830 he was among advanced reformers; in 1826 he was elected for Carlisle, in spite of the Lonsdale influence. He supported Althorp and Huskisson. He was First Lord of the Admiralty in November, 1830. He was one of the Committee of four to prepare the Reform Bill. In June, 1835, dissatisfied with his former colleagues, he crossed the floor of the House, and thenceforth sided generally with the Conservative party. Russell, however, who was always friendly to him, offered him office in Liberal Administrations of later years. In 1847 Graham declined from him the Governorship of India. In Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Government he was again a moderate Liberal and again at the Admiralty. He died in 1861.

33. Viscount Duncannon, born in 1781, was the eldest son of Frederick, 3rd Earl of Bessborough and of Henrietta,

daughter of John first Earl Spencer. He graduated from Christ Church, Oxford, in 1802. He was a Whig Member of the House of Commons from 1805 to 1834, when he was called to the House of Lords as Baron Duncannon of Bessborough; in 1844 he succeeded to the Earldom of Bessborough. He was one of the four who prepared the Reform Bill in 1830, Commissioner of Woods and Forests in 1831; Home Secretary in 1834. He and O'Connell were friends, and his co-operation with the Irish leader when he held the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland in the year 1846-7 was successful in promoting peace and order. He died in May, 1847. He was a firm Liberal, justly esteemed for his sound sense, industry, and conciliatory principles.

34. John Lambton, first Earl of Durham, was the son of William Lambton, Member for Durham, and of Anne Villiers, daughter of the fourth Earl of Jersey. He was born in 1792. After Eton, he entered the Army in 1809. In 1813 he was elected for Durham county as a Whig, and represented it till 1828, when he was made a peer. He was an ardent and independent-minded Radical and reformer. He was one of the Committee of four to prepare the Reform Bill; his advocacy of the ballot was unsuccessful, his Parliamentary and diplomatic career adventurous. Melbourne would not admit him to the Cabinet. He was appointed High Commissioner of Canada in 1838 to settle the dangerous troubles agitating the colony and greatly distinguished himself by his resolute action. His faults might have been pardoned if his character had been less difficult. But Ministers did not support him, and he was practically recalled. Russell alone defended him; but the history of our colonies contains his vindication. He died in 1840.

35. William Lamb, second Viscount Melbourne, was born in 1779. He went to Eton and to Cambridge, and to Glasgow as a pupil of Professor Miller. On December 19, 1806, he made his first speech, not in the House of Commons. He was Member for Northampton in 1816. In the movement for Reform he hung back; he thought it would lead to "a prevalence of the blackguard interest in Parliament." He

supported the Coercion Bill of 1833, and resigned office on account of Wellesley's conciliatory movement for Ireland. He befriended the young Queen Victoria on her accession, and greatly assisted her with his experience and wise counsels during the first year of her reign. She valued his counsels most highly, as her letters and journals abundantly show. In 1838 he wrote to Russell concerning his plan of State-aided education, "I am against it"; he had observed that "the Pagets got on damned well without it." The recently published Diary of the Queen recounts her amusement at his attitude on that occasion. He was the most moderate of Whigs, and his attitude of mind is well expressed by his phrase, "Why can't you leave it alone?" Yet he ably drove the slow car of Progress, when unoccupied with cattle and crops. He was friendly to Russell, though differing from him on several matters, and generally restraining his more Radical moves. While reproving his action on one occasion Melbourne wrote: "He is utterly incapable of anything of an underhand or clandestine character." In July, 1846, Russell, being Prime Minister, offered him an easy place in the Ministry, if his health would allow him to re-enter politics, but he was then unequal to any post.

He died on May 25, 1848.

36. Henry, third Marquis of Lansdowne, was born in 1780, son of the first Marquis and of Lady Louisa Fitzpatrick, daughter of John, Earl of Upper Ossory. He went to Westminster School and Edinburgh. At Edinburgh he associated with Palmerston, Brougham, Cockburn, Jeffrey, Horner, and Sydney Smith in attending Dugald Stewart's lectures. He was elected for Calne at twenty-two, after a "grand tour." He was an able speaker and administrator, and at twenty-five he was Chancellor of the Exchequer. He supported the movement for the abolition of the Slave Trade, opposed the Seditious Libels Bill, moved the Unitarian Marriage Bill (1824), and advocated the political claims of the Jews; he favoured the Roman Catholic claims; he censured the Tory Ministry for their support of Dom Miguel; he was President of the Council in 1830, and entered thoroughly into the plans

of reformed representation; he was deeply interested in State aid for education, and education generally. In Russell's Ministry of 1846 he was again President of the Council. Later, his Liberalism suffered a change towards ineffectual moderation. His high character, his skilful leadership, his sympathetic nature, his social influence, were such that he was held in honour by all parties throughout his life.

He died in 1863.

Lord Lansdowne had married in 1808 a daughter of the second Earl of Ilchester, and left two sons, one of whom, the fourth Marquis, held several offices in Liberal Ministries. His grandson, the present Lord Lansdowne, was in the recent Conservative Government Minister for Foreign Affairs.

37. Daniel O'Connell, the great Irish leader, was born in 1775. His career is a part of Irish history. "Few other men," it has been said, "have possessed his personal influence, and no other man has used such influence with greater moderation or self-abnegation." "He re-created national feeling in Ireland."

He died in 1847.

38. Mr. Spring Rice, later first Baron Monteagle, was the eldest son of Stephen Rice, a descendant of Sir Stephen Rice. He was born in 1790, graduated at Trinity, Cambridge, in 1811, represented Limerick from 1820 to 1832, and afterwards Cambridge. He was a strong Liberal, had a great knowledge of Irish affairs, and was a good debater. He was Under Secretary for the Home Department in 1827. He initiated many Irish reforms. He was Secretary to the Treasury in Lord Grey's administration, 1830-4, Chancellor of the Exchequer 1835-9, and introduced the penny postage scheme in 1839.

He died in 1866.

39. Lord William Russell, senior, was the uncle of Lord John.

40. Richard, Lord Wellesley, brother of the Duke of Wellington, was born in 1760, distinguished himself greatly in India, became Governor-General in 1797, and held that office till 1805, was Foreign Secretary 1809-12, and Lord-

Lieutenant of Ireland 1821-8 and 1833-4. He was created Marquis Wellesley. His opinions were generally Liberal and conciliatory, his tastes classical. He was a friend of Brougham. He concurred in the Reform Bill. For the sake of peace, he suppressed both Orange and Romanist secret societies. "The great purpose," he said, "is not to give a triumph to any one party, but to reconcile all." His recommendation to abandon the clauses for suppression of meetings led to the resignation of the Liberal Ministry of Lord Melbourne.

He died in 1842.

41. The Duke of Wellington was born in 1769. He was sent to Eton while very young, and after a few years there, to a military academy in France. After his glorious services in the field, he entered a Tory Ministry, and in 1819, for a second time, was in the Cabinet, repressing popular movements; he was a champion of privilege. On January 9, 1828, Wellington accepted, at great sacrifices, the post of Prime Minister. With Peel, he was wise in carrying relief to the Roman Catholics, by emancipation. On November 15, 1830, he resigned, hating "the whole concern" of parliamentary Reform. His political as well as his military life deserves close study. "His name was a tower of strength abroad, and his opinions and counsel were valuable at home," as Palmerston wrote. Russell, always venerating him, in peace as in war, respected his parliamentary straightforwardness and his perception of the trend of events which were too mighty to defeat. Russell had much correspondence with Wellington on the Militia, and various matters connected with military training, also concerning civil disturbances.

Wellington conferred with him in providing for contingencies in the Chartist Movement in 1848. Wellington's dispatches will always remain famous, like the records of Cæsar.

He died in 1852.

42. Constantine Phipps, Earl of Mulgrave, and afterwards 1st Marquis of Normanby, was born in 1797. He was sent

to Harrow and Trinity, Cambridge. He was elected for Scarborough and spoke for the Roman Catholic claims and for Parliamentary Reform in 1819. He was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1835. O'Connell wrote: "We have an excellent man in Lord Mulgrave, the new Lord-Lieutenant." Thomas Drummond, his associate, was the best Liberal secretary Ireland had ever received. In 1838 he was created Marquis of Normanby; in 1839 he was Secretary at War and of the Colonies; in 1846, Ambassador at Paris. In Italy, where he was Minister at the Court of Tuscany, he showed strong Austrian sympathies. He opposed Palmerston on his return to England, and supported the Conservative party. He died in 1863. He was the author of various small books and of several novels. The correspondence of Russell with Mulgrave during his Viceroyalty was exceedingly large.

43. Viscount Howick, eldest son of Earl Grey, was born in 1802, and educated privately and at Trinity, Cambridge. In 1835 he was Secretary at War. He was a strong Liberal and one of the earliest Free Traders. Distrusting Palmerston's foreign policy, his unwillingness to serve in 1845 prevented Russell from forming an administration, but in 1846 he entered the Liberal Ministry as Colonial Secretary. His views and policy were distinguished, sometimes troublesome.

After 1852 he took chiefly the part of a critic, but he came out strongly in 1866 in urging remedies for Irish grievances, and in 1878 in attacking Lord Salisbury's foreign policy. He died in 1894.

44. Edward Lytton Bulwer was born in 1803, was at Trinity and then at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in 1822, and subsequently, after travelling, occupied himself both with politics and literature. Though Liberal in some respects, he tended, like Disraeli, towards Conservatism, and in 1858-9 was Colonial Secretary in Lord Derby's Ministry. His numerous and remarkable imaginative books are far better known than his political career. He became a Peer, Baron Lytton, in 1866. He died in 1873.

45. William Bowles, divine, poet, and antiquary, was born in 1762, went to Winchester and Trinity, Oxford, won the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse, and entered Holy Orders in 1792, as Rector of Cricklade. In 1804 he was Vicar of Bremhill, Wiltshire, where he was highly esteemed and loved. His poetry is distinguished for tenderness, delicate fancy, and refined taste. He died in 1850.

46. Benjamin Haydon was born in 1786. His paintings were at one time greatly admired, and among those who were interested in him were Sir Walter Scott, Keats, Charles Lamb, Wordsworth, Hazlitt, Miss Mitford, and Miss Siddons. Wordsworth and Keats wrote sonnets praising him. His debts, distresses, and disappointments led to his killing himself in 1846.

47. The Earl of Essex was a friend at whose place, Cassiobury, Lord John Russell stayed after the death of his wife in 1838.

48. Lady Madalina Sinclair was the second, the Duchess of Manchester the third daughter of the Duke of Gordon; they were sisters of the Duchess of Bedford, stepmother of Lord John Russell. The daughters of the Duchess of Manchester, of whom Lady Jane Montagu was one, stayed for a long time at Woburn Abbey, during their girlhood. Lady Jane, who was so much admired, died at Florence, while still young.

49. Charles Greville, senior, of the Warwick family, was father of the Charles Greville of the Memoirs.

50. Charles Greville, the author of the famous Memoirs.

51. John Campbell, first Baron Campbell, was born in 1779, son of the minister at Cupar in Fifeshire. He went to St. Andrews University at eleven years old, was destined for the kirk, but at twenty already expected a success at the Bar, which would raise him to the Chancellorship, which he ultimately attained. In 1832 he became Solicitor-General, and carried through Parliament in the following year some very important reforms in the laws of real property. From 1834 to 1839, with short intervals, he was Attorney-General.

In 1838 and 1839 he was on the point of accepting a Judge-

ship, but for the strengthening of the Whig Government was induced to remain in Parliament. He was an excellent supporter of the cause of progress. He brought in several measures of legal reform, but will be chiefly known for his great works "The Lives of the Lord Chancellors," and the "Lives of the Chief Justices," which are exceedingly able and entertaining but, especially in the cases of Lyndhurst and Brougham, inaccurate. His legal decisions still carry great weight. At the age of eighty, in 1859, the Great Seal was conferred upon him. He died in 1861, after sitting in court and attending a Cabinet.

52. Humphrey W. Woolrych was born in 1795, went to Eton and Oxford, was called to the Bar in 1821, and created serjeant-at-law in 1855. He wrote many legal books and biographies, one poem and one novel.

53. Sir Robert Adair, born in 1763, was sent to Westminster and Göttingen. He was an intimate friend of Fox. Between 1788 and 1836 he was sent on important missions to Berlin, Vienna, and Petersburg. From 1831 to 1835 he was on a special mission to the Low Countries, where his exertions prevented a general war between Flemish and Dutch troops. He sat as a Whig for Appleby and Camelford.

54. Thomas Wakley, born in 1795, was a reformer both in medicine and politics. In 1823 he founded the *Lancet*. He introduced valuable improvements in hospitals, &c., exposed charlatanism, and cleared away flagrant abuses. In Parliament he sympathized with the Chartists and labourers. He was a friend of Cobbett, and was praised by Dickens for his humanity as coroner, an office he held from 1835 to 1852.

55. Edwin Chadwick, "father of sanitary science," born in 1800, was appointed Assistant Commissioner on the Poor Law in 1832. His services to the "Health of Nations" were most notable. He promoted Poor Law reforms, half-time for factory workers, water and sewage works, and forcibly advocated the central direction of national health. I remember hearing him repeat as a motto of the highest value "Circulation *versus* Stagnation."



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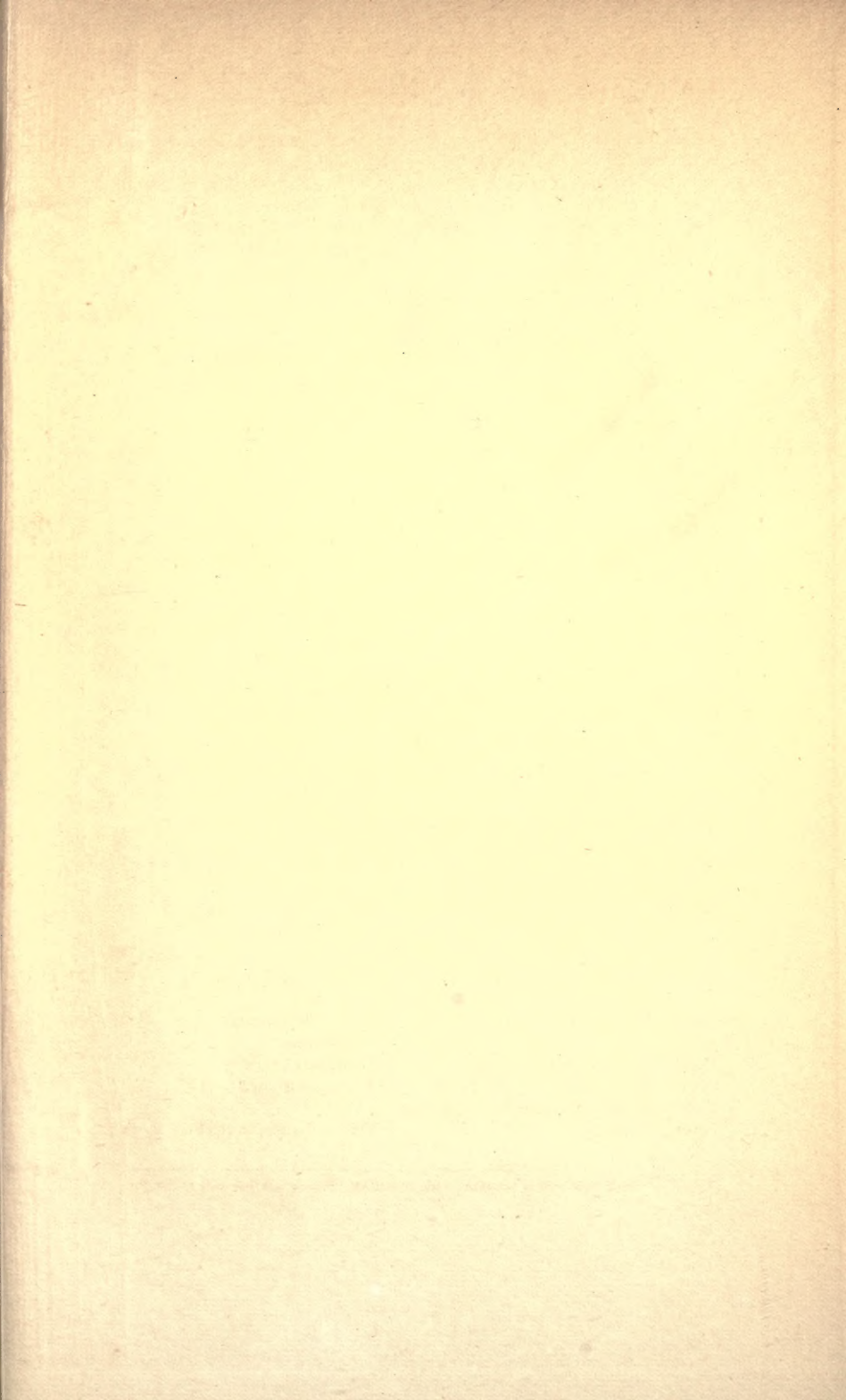
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Russell, John Russell, 1st Earl,
1792-1878.
Early correspondence of Lord
John Russell, 1805-40

